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MILLARD FILLMORE

CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMAN, DEFENDER OF THE CONSTITUTION, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

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DEDICATED TO

the elder kinsmen of 1850–'61
from whom a Philadelphia boy learned politics
to the comrades of 1861–'65 in the Federal armies
and to all
who love the Union of States
made under God by the fathers of '76.

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PREFACE

The problems that emerged in 1850 before the American people are, for the most part, awaiting solution in 1915, and it is to these that Millard Fillmore gave his chief attention and energies, as the facts of history set forth in this book will show.

So far from being the "colorless" man in American politics, which rivals and enemies, the ignorant and the copyists have made him, Millard Fillmore was a man of active mind and deep convictions. He helped mightily to bring in the modern world. He killed off one war and postponed for a decade the greatest. He sent a peaceful armada to Japan and introduced the Orient to America and the Occident. He was a zealous champion of a canal joining the Atlantic and the Pacific. He was a Union man when sectionalism was rampant and explosive. He stood for the whole country.

During his presidency, the economic map of the world was altered. He was strenuous in making the United States a world-power, and our politics cosmopolitan. His aid was potent in changing our relatively poor land to one of the richest of countries, when California's gold disturbed the economic equilibrium of the world.

Few public men have had a nobler record of constructive statesmanship. As state legislator, he secured the repeal of laws requiring imprisonment for debt and also the abolition of religious qualifications for test oaths. He developed the public school system, opposed with might the distribution of State or city funds for sectarian education, and as Comptroller of the Commonwealth anticipated the system of national banks.

In Congress he was the father of the protective tariff of 1842, and of a frontier policy which maintained the peace

of a hundred years, commemorated by English-speaking nations in 1915. Ahead of most men in foresightedness, he urged the electric telegraph to national success.

As Vice-president, he vindicated the dignity of the national government through his initial establishment of fixed rules of order in the Senate, demonstrating that ours was not a leagne of states, but an indestructible union, a nation.

As president, he fathered the Japan expedition, hastened cheap postage and international copyright, defeated sectionalism and foiled the filibusters. He fixed in our national life the policy of non-interference in European affairs, developed the beauty of the city of Washington and the re-building of the national capitol, opposed unrestricted emigration and held the same opinions on slavery as did George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Molten in the hot fires of the passions generated in fratrascidal war, public opinion concerning Millard Fillmore crystallized too soon. Recent historians have been more just in their judgments.

Fillmore was an ardent champion of the Union before and after the war between the states. He ever honored the Constitution. He grappled manfully with still unsettled problems, such as the keeping of national faith in treaties, maintaining a consistent national policy with the Monroe Doctrine, ever believing in arbitration instead of war, and in the supremacy of the nation. His spirit was always that of a national, not a sectional patriot.

In private life he was a model citizen. Not many presidents of the United States can show a record like his. Misrepresented and maligned during his life, he kept silence and bided his time. His name will shine brighter as the years roll on.

From hundreds of printed books and public documents, in America, Europe and Japan, from the forty or more volumes of Mr. Fillmore's own collection of manuscript "Letters received" during his presidency, (long supposed

to be lost, but discovered in 1908 and now in the Library of the Buffalo Historical Society), the two volumes of "Fillmore Papers," published by the same Society, containing his letters, speeches and newspaper reports (in which will be found much information omitted in this work), and from autographs of various kinds and dates, from the letters and personal testimony of living witnesses who knew the man, from my own boyhood's reminiscences, from the conversation of elders, from civil war experiences, and from research in Japan, Europe and America, I have constructed this life-story of our thirteenth president. He was not least in a line of rulers, which for ethical purity, high character and signal abilities, knows no superior in the world's long history.

W. E. G.

January 1, 1915.
Ithaca, N. Y.

CHAPTER I.

Born in the Forest.

Millard Fillmore was born in the forest of the Iroquois lake region, when the census of wolves, bears, panthers, and deer exceeded that of humanity by a thousand fold. At Summer Hill, in the town of Locke, in Cayuga County, N. Y., he opened his eyes on the early morning of January 7th, 1800. There was no cradle, but a maple-sugar sap-trough held the new baby. The first-born son had a little sister. Nathaniel Fillmore his father, and Phoebe Millard, his mother joined the two family names and called their son Millard Fillmore. Of his ancestry, his father's struggles as a pioneer, and of his own boyhood, the president of the United States wrote in his autobiographic "Narrative" in 1871. Dissuaded by his parents from enlisting in the army at the age of fourteen, he went to Sparta, N. Y., to learn the trade of clothmaking. The rude wooden machinery was driven by a rapid mill stream.

Human life on the frontier, as his "Narrative" shows, was in competition with the wolf and manners were rough. The "boss" at Sparta failed to keep his contract. After a quarrel, young Fillmore filled his knapsack with bread and venison, shouldered his gun to keep off wild beasts and started eastward and homeward over Indian trails and Sullivan's road of 1779. His frontier experiences, like those of Washington, whose greatest school was in the forest, were among the most profound, stirring and formative in all his life. Because of his own vicissitudes, including unjust treatment, he entertained to the end of his days a lively sympathy with servants, apprentices and all wage-earners.

The Fillmore family at Sempronius included, in 1815, nine; father, mother, five sons and two daughters. Millard became apprentice at New Hope to two cloth dressers. He

worked in the mill from June until December and gained a little schooling in winter. He bought a dictionary and began general reading. While attending to the carding machine, he put the dictionary on the desk, which he passed every two minutes in removing the rolls, and thus fixed in his memory the definition of many words. Teaching an elementary school, in which discipline was often maintained only by physical force, and attending a sawmill varied his occupation. Then in 1818, to visit some relatives in Buffalo—the town laid out as New Amsterdam—he tramped one hundred miles through the "blazed" forest. After enjoying the earthly paradise of the Genesee valley landscape, he saw the blackened ashes of Buffalo village, as left by the British torch. Returning home on foot, he attended school, living at a farmer's house and chopping wood two days to pay for a week's board. Here he first saw a wall map and heard a sentence parsed. Here, best of all, he met and loved Abigail Powers. For eight years his sweetheart and for twenty-seven years his wife, this daughter of a Baptist minister moulded by her gracious charm as a helpmate, and thoroughly perennially sweet influence the man who never forgot to be a gentleman.

At Millard Fillmore's birth our national government was but thirteen years old, and in his initial year, began its activities at Washington on the Potomac, then a village of three thousand people. Of the three large cities, the population of New York was sixty, of Philadelphia, forty, and of Boston twenty-five thousand. Yet the westward tide of emigration was rising. The Anglo-Saxon was marching on.

CHAPTER II.

Pioneer in Religious Freedom

How the frontier lad passed into the profession of law, he tells in his "Narrative."

His father, having removed to Montville, in Cayuga County, asked Judge Wood to take his son Millard into his office. One of the lad's first surprises here was to have "Blackstone's Commentaries," founded upon English law, put into his hands, when he wished to study the laws of New York, which are so largely based on Dutch law. Even the book of Blackstone, as a literary fabric, follows slavishly a Dutch author.

Young Fillmore received little explanation or instruction while being used as errand boy. In his twentieth year, he paid his way by school teaching, reading law morning and evening. A disagreement—because the thrifty judge did not approve of the young man, under pecuniary pressure, earning three dollars gained in pleading before a justice of the peace—followed, and Millard Fillmore in August, 1821, went west to join his father who had moved to East Aurora, near Buffalo, N. Y. Again a teacher of school, he attended suits before justices on Saturdays. In the spring of 1822. he settled in Buffalo for one year, to the spring of 1823, teaching and acting as clerk. Admitted to the Bar, he opened an office in East Aurora and practiced until May, 1830. He then removed to Buffalo, which was his home until death. His partner was Asa Clary. He was first elected to the New York Assembly in autumn of 1828, and the rest of his life, as the final sentence in the Narrative states, "is a matter of public record."

Mr. Fillmore's habit of elementary teaching was kept up, even after severing his school relations in 1826, but on a higher plane. For a number of years he had a class of law students in his office, and many were the alumni.

His pedigogical experience, both as cause and effect, gave Millard Fillmore a life-long interest in education, and especially in the public schools.

Throughout his whole career, whether as representative in Congress or as plain citizen, lawmaker, or executive, he was ever a champion of free public education uncontaminated by partisan politicians or ecclesiastics, besides taking a genuine interest in good teachers, text books and educational methods.

In 1823, Millard Fillmore built his house at East Aurora and three years later felt the time for mating had come. He and Abigail Powers were married in the Episcopal church edifice at Moravia, N. Y., February 5, 1826, by the rector, Rev. Orsanius H. Smith, the reception being at the house of her brother, Judge Powers.

In her home at East Aurora, the bride did not like the flat Erie County scenery as well as she loved the glorious hills of the fair and beautiful Cayuga region. Yet this country girl, who had brought her books with her, was quite equal to the social demands of city life. Byron was then all the rage with the susceptible and appreciative lovers of poetry. When the old town of Erie was to be divided, the choice of a name for the older portion was left to her, and she at once suggested that of Newstead, from the name of the abbey near the poet's ancestral home.

In 1828, the new Erie County had two districts and Millard Fillmore and David Burt were chosen as their representatives in the New York Assembly at Albany. The former began his work as legislator in January, 1828, and was re-elected in 1830. From the first, Fillmore proved himself more of a statesman than a politician, being a maker of precedent and a leader of progress. With ceaseless activity in the multifarious labors of organizing a frontier county he brought in the appliances of civilization and prepared the land for succeeding generations.

Two great measures, the abolition of imprisonment for debt and that of religious tests for witnesses in the Empire State, are to be credited to Millard Fillmore. The first, passed by the Assembly, April 2nd, 1831, amended and finally signed by the Governor, April 26th, was entitled "An Act to Abolish Imprisonment for Debt and to Punish Fraudulent Debtors." Covering eleven pages of print, the text was written by Mr. Fillmore, except the portions relative to proceedings in Courts of Record, which were drawn by John C. Spencer.

This Act made a year of jubilee to hundreds, if not thousands of released debtors in New York State, and the ransomed souls returned home in gladness. Happily this reform, in the interests of humanity, spread from New York to the other states, until it became universal in the Union. In our day few American citizens dream that their ancestors were once in prison for debt. Even Robert Morris, financier of the Revolution, suffered thus, to the shame of America and the grief of Washington.

Fillmore followed to their logical conclusion the principles laid down by the fathers of the Constitution, in following the example of the Dutch Republic, from which most of our national precedents are drawn. In a pamphlet of twelve pages, entitled "An Examination of the Question," he discussed the then vital theme, "Is it Right to Require any Religious Test as a Qualification to be a Witness in a Court of Justice?" Later he brought in a bill, "In Assembly, February, 1832," of which the following is the vital portion :

I. No person shall be deemed incompetent as a witness in a court, matter or proceeding, on account of his or her religious belief ; or for want of any religious belief ; nor shall any witness be questioned as to his or her religious belief ; nor shall any other testimony be received in relation thereto, either before or after such witnesses may be sworn."

The inconsistency of the old system, which made the validity of an oath dependent upon theoretical belief, is shown by picturing it in detail. Fillmore winds up his arguments by showing what frauds are practised under this rule of exclusion. For example, a person who knew all about a murder could get rid of testifying by giving out to some friend that he did not believe in a Deity, or future state of rewards and punishments. Such a case was not imaginary, but in the history of eastern New York was a reality.

In our days of empire, when we are neither colonists nor provincials, but have on our soil many millions of men of various religions, some of these being older than Christianity, but too venerable and genuine to be "false," we have adopted the wisdom of ancient Rome and of the Republic of the United Netherlands. We have proved how useful to the magistrates are those masses of inheritances, prejudices, customs, and sanctions, which, collectively, are are called "religion," but are not;—being simply symbols of its reality and the garments of its body. In twentieth century American courts, the breaking of a saucer, the cutting in half of a fowl by a Chinese, the swearing on the Koran by a man of Islam, or on the Pentateuch by an Israelite, the affirmation of the Friend, or the solemn word of the enlightened man, who, taking the command of Jesus seriously, refrains from an oath, the holding up of the first three fingers—whether to mean the initial letter of the Hebrew word for God, or as the sign of the Trinity—are all accepted as of equal value. It is perfectly well understood that a pile of Bibles, or a stack of affidavits, cannot make a liar love the truth—all of which proves how steadily mankind has advanced in the ability to put difference between the sign and the substance, and to discern between "religion" in name and its reality in life. The chief progress of mankind during the past four

hundred years, has been in general education and freedom of conscience. In both of these Holland led Europe, as the United States now leads the world.

All honor to Millard Fillmore as a pioneer of that religious liberty, of which America is the best exponent and the van leader among the nations !

CHAPTER III.

Early Politics in the Empire State.

When Fillmore's public career began, the national parties were in process of formation. Like Caesar's Gaul, the Empire State was then divided into three parts—a narrow strip of territory, chiefly in the Hudson River Valley and lying on the old New Netherland; the newer central region, settled later; and a western half, only partially organized and consisting in the main of forest land. Pressing tasks lay before the settlers of its newest portion. Counties were to be marked out and named, highways by land and by water created, and links forged in the chain of communication between the great West and the greatest sea-gate of the continent which lay at the Island of the States, or Staten Island.

The first political parties in the young American Republic were formed, of necessity, on the basis of economics. The North was to be manufacturing and commercial. The South was agricultural and likely to remain so. Any party, to be national, must be reared on the ground of trade and industry. Nevertheless, there would come to such a party danger of rupture, whenever a great ethical question presented itself. Could such a moral issue be isolated, it would act like new wine in old bottles and burst the vessel.

The elements of such a national and economic union, to be called the Whig party, already existed in the third decade of the nineteenth century, and, by the cast of his mind, Millard Fillmore was sure to be associated with it. He began early to make the product of material wealth in State and Nation his serious and prolonged study.

Yet even while Millard Fillmore was but a young lawyer just rising into public notice, one of these outbursts of the ethical sense caused disturbance of former party lines.

When Morgan was abducted and made to disappear from mortal view, humanity was outraged and the anti-Masonic feeling rose to high tide even in national politics.

At that period of American history, there was a morbid dislike of all secret meetings. In the terrific reaction which followed the overthrow of King George's power in America, increasing in strength during the excitement created by the French Revolution, the fear of monarchy and aristocracy—both of which institutions secret fraternities were supposed to foster—reached the point of alarm and even at times of panic. It is difficult in our day to understand how bitter was the suspicion, and how virulent was the hatred felt and manifested against all social forms that might compromise democracy.

A century ago the clergy, the doctors and the lawyers formed almost three orders in American society. The "fourth estate" of journalism was not yet. The relations between rich and poor were as full of friction and strain as they are now, for human nature has not changed. Anything that might appear to increase the power of the privileged was under suspicion and ban. Secrecy and the binding of men by oaths and mysteries seemed to savor of the pit. Even the Phi Beta Kappa Society of college graduates suffered malignant suspicion because of the general hatred of the occult in life.

The National Republican Party, in August, 1828, took care to nominate State candidates who were not Free Masons; while the Anti-Masonic State Convention, at Utica, a few days later, chose men pledged to oppose Free Masonry. At the polls, the latter secured over one-eighth of the vote of the State. By 1830, as opponents of the Democrats, they had displaced the National Republicans of New York, for General Jackson was a Free Mason. Anti-Free Masonry, as a polilical force, was extended into other States and in a short time Pennsylvania and Vermont

were in the column and Massachusetts and Ohio were moving in the same direction.

What happened ultimately to this movement belongs to the common history of all American political parties which are not based on an interpretation of the Constitution. The extreme of opinion in one direction always alienates one portion to the opposite camp. Then, after a few years, the party disintegrates, its elements being absorbed by the two great parties which interpret the Constitution. The Conservative and the Progressive principles, expressive of the dualism of nature, are the only ones that are permanent.

Out of this anti-Masonic agitation in New York State, a brilliant group of young politicians arose and appeared, first in politics as anti-Masonic leaders. Three of them were William H. Seward, Thurlow Weed, and Millard Fillmore. With the last-named, anti-secrecy became an article of faith and an active principle throughout life. Opposed to any form of occultism and loving the daylight, Fillmore maintained consistently his moral convictions. Despite his connection, in later life, with the "Native American" party this is true, for though nominated by the "Know Nothings," the burden of his speeches is loyalty to the Union, as the dominant passion of his life.

First meeting the young lawer at a convention held in Buffalo in 1828, Thurlow Weed, struck by the personal appearance of Millard Fillmore saw in him a man of promise. The next year the famous editor suggested the rising lawyer for the Assembly, of which body both men, in 1830, were members, having already become warm personal friends.

In February, 1830, the State Convention at Albany, decided to call a national anti-Masonic nominating convention, which met in September, 1830. The prospect for success seemed good. John Quincy Adams had lost control of the National Republicans, and although Henry Clay had developed that amazing personal magnetism and popularity,

which almost made a distinctively Clay party, he was a Free Mason. To force the Kentuckian out of the field and to steal a march upon their enemies, the Anti-Masons met at Baltimore in September, 1831, before any other party convention could be held, and nominated William Wirt of Maryland, and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania as presidential candidates. At the election however, their candidates received the electoral vote of only one state, Vermont. The National Republicans nominated Clay, but lost the election. "Killed at the first fire," was the war-experience of the Anti-Masonic party, which, soon ending its career as a national organization, made way for the Whigs.

Erie County soon became large enough to set apart as a Congressional District and Mr. Fillmore was elected on an anti-Jackson ticket, as its first representative in Congress, taking his seat in Washington, D. C., Dec. 21, 1833, as one of the Opposition. After a short struggle, the President was master of the situation.

That "Star Congress" which met in December, 1833, was rich in great men—Clay, Calhoun, Adams, Pierce, Choate, Cambreleng, McDuffie, Polk, Corwin, Ewing, Webster, Fillmore, and others. Of its members, five became presidents, five vice-presidents, eight secretaries of state, and twenty-five governors.

Young America was now in council. Nearly all the statesmen of the Revolution had passed away. Old world questions had been left behind. A distinctly American order of politics, arising out of the crude forces of nationality, was looming up. There was no antiquity or any great desire to remember history. All was new and buoyant. The effect of the frontier states on our national life was felt and the new problems, ultimately solved in the Civil War, were emerging.

Socially the era was interesting. Costume in that day was ultra-professional in marking social distinctions. Con-

gressmen were clothed, both as to mind and body, in clerical style. White necties, black satin socks and swallow tailed "dress" coats, made a group of senators, when standing together, look very much like "clergymen," and, forsooth, dignified senators illustrated the militancy of sacred corporations that are not necessarily Christian in spirit.

Petitions for the abolition of slavery began to come before Congress, and the debates thereon developed both men and their forensic powers. Many of the passages of eloquence, since so often reproduced by juvenile orators in declamation, were then delivered. What was once a local, almost a parochial ripple of opinion, was swelling into a national, ocean-like current of conviction. It had not yet been settled whether the treatment of the whole question of slavery was a matter for each State, or for the Nation.

After routine activities and some forcible speeches on public finance, Mr. Fillmore, as a member of the Standing Committee on the District of Columbia, presented on February 16, 1835, a petition from the people of Rochester praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Henry Wise of Virginia, afterwards Governor, said "I put it to the gentleman from New York what respect should be paid to an incendiary document?"

Mr. Fillmore answered that "the people of New York were shocked at advertisements for runaway slaves."

Archer of Virginia made a motion to lay the petition on the table. During the debate the stock arguments of the men in favor of involuntary servitude, were that their ancestors had fixed slavery in the Constitution and that northern men had often gone south and become slave masters.

Henry A. Wise and John Quincy Adams were the heroes of "rows" in Congress.

The proceedings took on a comical air when Adams introduced a petition of twenty-two slaves against abolition,

said petition being a hoax. Then Wise—the "Harry Percy of the House"—declared that if the discussion continued, the seat of government would be moved west, or the District of Columbia retroverted to the States.

In our day Governor Wise's son declared that "It was the short-sighted policy of southern members . . . . . to allow Adams and the Abolitionists to pose as champions of a right as old as Magna Carta—the right of petition." John Quincy Adams, who was the incarnation of the cause he maintained, uttered in May, 1836, the prophetic warning, that if the South became the theatre of battle, the United States Government, in its war powers, could abolish slavery.

Throughout this term of two years, his first experience in Congress, Mr. Fillmore, while in loyal sympathy with his party, did not attach to the idea of a National Bank the extreme importance which the whigs gave it. In this, as later history showed, he was an independent thinker and in advance of his party. He worked hard on committees and spoke when necessary, not to the galleries, but to promote the business of the house. He gave earnest and persevering support to the internal improvement policy. In any legislation that affected the navigation of the Great Lakes, to which Buffalo, or Erie County, holds the key, he was especially vigilant and painstaking. The session ended June 10th, 1834.

As early as 1832, Buffalo was large enough to become a city and a committee of sixteen, of which Mr. Fillmore was a member, drew up a municipal charter. The Legislature gave its approval, April 20th, and henceforth the village was a municipality. In these active, strenuous days, Millard Fillmore gave his best powers to making Buffalo a bigger, better, and nobler city. Few indeed are the measures of improvement with which his name, during the forty-two years, from 1832 to 1874, is not connected.

The year 1832 was also one of joy and hope, for it

marked the birth of his only daughter, Mary Abigail. She came into his home four years after the advent of his son, Millard Powers. The law firm of Clary and Fillmore, which had existed since 1823, though with several changes, was dissolved and the new partnership of Fillmore and Hall formed. This continued under this name until January 10th, 1836, when the partnership of Fillmore, Hall and Haven was made. Until nominated for Congress October 4th, 1836, he was wholly occupied with his law practice. Judge Hall retired from the firm in May, 1839, but Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Haven continued together in active practice, until the autumn of 1847, when Mr. Fillmore was elected Comptroller of the State.

Americans were getting ready to leave feudalism behind. Ethical questions were beginning to surmount those of purely economic or political interest. Although their representative had upheld in Congress the age-old right of petition by his vote, the Abolitionists of his district were not wholly sure of his opinions on human servitude. Within a fortnight after Mr. Fillmore's renomination to Congress, the Anti-Slavery Society of Erie County submitted its catechism to the candidate. Mr. Fillmore replied in three-fold affirmative, but refused to be a machine politician, even for Abolitionists.

This answer sounded the keynote of his whole career. He said, then and always, "I am opposed to giving any pledges that shall deprive me hereafter of all discretionary powers. . . . If I stand pledged to a particular course of action, I cease to be a responsible agent, but I become a mere machine."

Re-elected in 1838, and in 1840, Mr. Fillmore's record as a Congressman was a continuous one for six years. In all matters that could be referred to or regulated by that instrument, his sole guide was the Constitution of the United States. On June 5th, 1834, he took part in the de-

bate regarding the territories of Michigan, Arkansas and Florida, especially in regard to the invasion of the public lands by squatters. Always alert on behalf of the Indian, he gave careful attention to the Western (or Indian) Territory, but the bill was lost. The territory in which the "civilized tribes" found a home, and out of which part of Kansas and Nebraska were taken and the great state of Oklahoma has been formed, was set apart as unorganized. Not until 1850, under President Fillmore's administration, were its inhabitants brought even to the notice of the census. Politically, the condition of the Indian was then as low as that of the Eta, or outcasts of Japan, before they were raised to citizenship, in 1869, by Mutsuhito the Great.

CHAPTER IV.

In Washington, Leader of the House

During the administration of Martin Van Buren (1837-1841) a storm broke upon the country in the form of a financial panic. Too much paper money had led first to inflation, then to distrust, and finally to explosion and distress. In the special session of Congress, called for September 4, 1837, Mr. Fillmore spoke at length on the "Surplus Revenue," "Hoping," as he said, "to live to see the day when "the moral pestilence of political banks and banking shall be unknown." On Oct. 4th, with speech and vote, he opposed the issue of Treasury notes.

International attention was suddenly turned to the waters of Erie County. During the Patriot War in Canada, devised by disloyal Englishmen and American sympathizers, a virtual invasion of the soil of the United States took place. A party of armed men from the Canadian shore fired on and boarded the American steamer Caroline on the night of December 29th, 1837. The boat was set afire and sent blazing down the current, not to "plunge over Niagara Falls," but to stick fast in the mud of one of the islands.

Later the responsibility of the affair was assumed by the British Government and Col. McNab, the instigator of the act, was knighted July 14th, 1838. Until 1900, when the better feeling now prevailing between the two English-speaking nations culminated in British sympathy with us in the war with Spain, American visitors in London could see not only the captured stars and stripes of 1812, but of 1837 hanging as a trophy of this episode, so disgraceful to both parties.

In the perspective of nearly four score years, one need not sympathize very heartily with the displays of rhetorical

fireworks that took place along the northern border, in some other parts of the country and in Congress, in 1839, nor even agree with every statement then made by the member from Erie County. President Van Buren ignored the episode, but Mr. Fillmore on January 12th, 1838, introduced a resolution as an amendment to a bill then under discussion, calling for information from and action of the chief executive. Throughout this long excitement of 1838-1839, when oratory, of a type peculiar to that era of our nation's growth, was flaming, Mr. Fillmore took a position at once patriotic and judicial. His plea was for the better protection of the northern water frontier of the United States. He aimed to prevent an outbreak on the border and have the two governments come to some mutually beneficial understanding. While other congressmen vapored and threatened, Mr. Fillmore plead for the defence of our northern frontier. "The best way to avoid a war with Great Britain," said he, "is to show that we are prepared to meet her, because reasonable preparations for defense are better than gasconading."

On Dec. 21st, 1838, excitement having increased on the frontier, Mr. Fillmore offered a resolution calling for the correspondence between the two Governments.

The President responded by sending to the house, on January 2, 1841, a special message with the correspondence. The report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs went beyond the particular case of the Caroline and entered into a general arraignment of the British Government—much in the spirit of the later Sumner speech on "indirect damages" of the "Alabama."

Mr. Fillmore protested against this report, urging that it be not printed in so incendiary a form. His patriotism and courage were tempered with moderation and wisdom. "The true plan was to prepare for war if we had yet to come to it, but to do nothing in the way of bragging. . . .

Before we make a declaration of war . . . prepare for it." We all know how, in 1812, other incompetent and unready commanders made a scapegoat of the hero, General William Hull. Our country, from that series of inglorious land campaigns, had had enough of rushing to arms before making ready for it. In outline, we have a foreshadowing of Mr. Fillmore's foreign policy when he became president, fully equal as it was to Washington's in prudence, or to Grant's or Roosevelt's in firmness, or to Taft's or Wilson's in wisdom.

Not content with words, Mr. Fillmore on Feb. 25th, 1841, sought to have the Naval Bill Appropriation amended so as to provide for American duplication of British naval armaments on the lakes. This resolution being ruled "out of order," he appeared personally before the Navy Board in 1842, and urged that an armed steamer be constructed at Buffalo to patrol the lakes.

It eventuated that the iron man-of-war, Michigan, later named the Wolverine, was built, not at Buffalo, but at Pittsburg—few American cities having then the facilities for constructing iron vessels. Thousands came to witness the launch, most of them expecting to see it sink at once, because it was made of metal. This ship, now the oldest iron vessel in the world, had a unique history, from 1843 until 1913. After a long career of peace, it acted as sentinel over imprisoned Confederates and as a defense against their attempted rescue. After our civil war, it became a deporter and repatriater of Fenians. This last act was a sort of magnanimous tit-for-tat for McNab's invasion.

The issue of the Caroline affair was creditable to both nations. The treaty which was made wrote a novel chapter in the world's history and created a precedent for the future, when war will be deemed barbarism. It dismantled every fort and dismounted every gun, American and British, along a frontier of three thousand miles, furnish-

ing to the world a unique spectacle of two proud nations at permanent peace. The radical creed of militarism was given a severe blow, for the United States became "the Great Pacific Power," and the Land of Peaceful Frontiers. If mankind is governed by successful precedents, here is one to be followed for all time.

Unexpectedly severe labors awaited Mr. Fillmore in the Twenty-Sixth Congress, beginning in December, 1839. Political parties in the House were so nearly balanced, that the acceptance or rejection of one state's representation would give one party or the other a majority. The Democrats demanded that the contested New Jersey election case involving the seating of five out of ten persons claiming to be members, should be decided previous to the election of a speaker.

The Whigs, on the contrary, insisted that until the House was organized, the certificates of the Governor of New Jersey would suffice as credentials. "The Broad Seal War" is the name given to this episode, because the five Whig candidates had certificates of election under the broad seal of the State, while the Democratic candidates contested the election on the ground of a miscount in one county.

Two weeks were consumed in ballotting and the discussion ran on until the end of December. The case not being decided, the committee on elections, on which Millard Fillmore occupied a prominent place, became the most important of all. In the face of a hostile majority, both in the Committee and the House, after months of labor and investigation, he was prevented by partisan tactics from reading his minority report.

Nothing daunted, Mr. Fillmore printed his plea for common justice as "an address to the whole country," in a sixteen page pamphlet with the title "Address and Suppressed Report of the Minority of the Committee of Election

in the New Jersey Case Presented to the House of Representatives, March 10th, 1840, together with the remarks of Mr. Fillmore."

Throughout this whole affair, his vigor and earnestness so won the admiration of the entire Whig party that, in the political reaction which followed, the voters of Erie County re-elected Mr. Fillmore, giving him the largest majority ever known in the district. He was now a man of national importance. In battling for the principle on which all representative government must ever rest, he had spared no sacrifice, and for this he was appreciated.

The tariff formed the chief burden of business in Congress. The southern politicians threatened to nullify United States law and secede, if the imposts of 1828 were not repealed. Yet it was evident that Protection in some form was to be the settled policy of the nation.

The Whig party met at Harrisburg, Pa., Dec. 4th, 1839, and without adopting any platform, nominated a military hero, General William Henry Harrison. After the "hard cider and log cabin campaign" followed, Harison was elected and on March 17th, 1841, called an extra session of Congress to consider the financial difficulties of the Government. At the Whig caucus, they having a majority of twenty-five over the Democrats, John White of Kentucky received the highest number of votes for Speaker of the House, and Millard Fillmore the second. In such a case, as was customary, Mr. Fillmore was later made chairman of the most important committee, that of Ways and Means.

The chief questions before Congress were economic. Mr. Fillmore being an expert in finance, revenue and the needs of the growing nation, was now one of the hardest working members of Congress. When the House sat as a Committee of the Whole, on the Tariff Bill, June 9th, 1842, he opened the debate in a speech which occupied several hours in its delivery. Of him, Mr. Richard W.

Thompson, of President Hayes's cabinet, wrote in after years :

"With the highest qualifications, always in steady equipoise, Mr. Fillmore held the attention of all. The fine-spun theories of impassioned orators were exploded by his powerful and faultless logic. His style of oratory was wholly unlike that of Wise of Virginia. He spoke with mathematical directness. If he did not convince, he left no rankling wound. With voice strong, full and clear, he was heard with universal attention in every part of the house." Editor Nathan W. Sargent ("Oliver Oldschool") says that Mr. Fillmore labored "day and night on complicated revenue bills, never discouraged by his frequent defeats and the blocking votes, but renewing his efforts at every set back, until finally the revenue acts of 1842 crowned his efforts, and gave new life to the country."

Thus the tariff of 1842 was almost a new creation, involving a vast amount of labor and research, and Millard Fillmore is justly entitled to the authorship of it.

During this session, Mr. Fillmore brought into operation a great safeguard against reckless and dishonest expenditure. He prepared a digest of all the laws of Congress which authorized appropriations, so that he could instantly reproduce his authority for what he recommended. He secured also the passage of a resolution which required each Department to make references to laws authorizing any expenditure when submitting estimates of expense. This has ever since been the practice of the Government.

Altogether his Congressional experience in Washington was a pleasant one. When in the Presidential chair, Mr. Fillmore could heartily say "amen" to the words of a fellow "Silver Grey," an ex-member of the House, who was revisiting "A comrade in that happy and glorious Twenty-Seventh Congress, which was no less distinguished for its service to the nation than for the occasions it furnished to many warm and enduring friendships."

Among those pleasantly remembered in after life was that with Spencer Jarnigan of Tennessee, an ardent Whig and friend of internal improvement under the auspices of the National Government. Elected to the State Senate in 1833, and a Harrison elector for the state at large in 1840 he was, in 1843, chosen to the United States Senate, taking high rank as a brilliant orator and constitutional lawyer—a man after Fillmore's own heart, besides being a shining figure in the social life of the capital. He served until 1847, and when Taylor and Fillmore were named in 1849, no southern orator captivated audiences in favor of the Whig nominees more completely than Jarnigan.

During "the forties," the city of Washington was a poor place whence to judge the United States. Here labor was degraded, slavery flaunted itself, the central government was weak and the behavior of members of Congress gave visitors a bad impression. The city still wore the air of some projected scheme which had failed. Most of the built-up portion was in the vicinity of the Capitol. Pigs and cows roamed freely over the town, lay asleep on the corners, chewed the cud, or rooted, according to their own sweet will and time, especially at the end spaces at the triangular meeting places of avenues. In 1840, the odor left in the rooms of hotels by servants who, without change of clothing, slept anywhere on the stairs, or in the passage ways, was at times insupportable. On January 14th, 1840, Mr. Fillmore wrote : " People here know nothing of comfort in cold weather, their houses are all built for a southern summer, but by some mistake we have now got a northern winter." Nevertheless, Alexander R. Shepherd, the second founder of the city, whose statue now stands on a lofty pedestal, was already born.

There were novelties also. The Antarctic curiosities brought by Captain Wilkes were accessible in the museums. " Destiny " was in the air and it seemed the purpose of the

American politicians "to rise on the ruins of the British Empire." In the shops, during these days of inflation and over abundant paper money, the "counterfeit detector," issued monthly, was a necessity on every counter.

Congress then met in the chamber which later became the Supreme Court Room, and still later the law library in the basement of the Capitol. Though for fifty years there were threats of the dissolution of the Union, the vaulted arches resounded with the eloquence of Clay and Webster and the Union kept together. Whatever the orators might be in Congress, they were usually one in the fellowship of drink and good cheer. At the White House, in Tyler's time, there was a sideboard and everybody was expected to "take something" as a liquid souvenir of friendship. The term "Washingtonians" did not as yet connote teetotalism.

CHAPTER V.

The Magnetic Telegraph.

Mr. Fillmore's interest in the great discoveries of the age in which he lived was keen. He considered photography, the steam engine, and the electric telegraph the great wonders of the century. He helped mightily to translate the visions of Faraday, Henry, and Farmer into practical use. More than anyone else, he championed in Congress an appropriation of money to ensure success. Nevertheless, so oculted had the reputation of Millard Fillmore been, that in the latest biography of Morse, by his son (Boston, 1914) the name of the great inventor's steadfast friend is not even mentioned.

"Morse," said Fillmore, "made of lightning a messenger of intelligence which annihilated time and space. It brings all nations so near together that they can, as it were, hear each other speak."

In later life, Professor Morse received so many tokens of the appreciation of the world at large that his breast, when decorated, was an epitome of that first American geography which his father had written, for there hung upon his coat tokens from almost every civilized ruler in the world. Though Morse did little or nothing electrical, he set the finial upon a great cathedral spire of investigation and experiment. Thousands of toilers had unconsciously shared in the work that was crowned by Morse. He entered into the labor of others, made the recording apparatus, completing the long chain of "inventors"—from the primitive rubber of amber and the stroker of the cat's back. Joseph Henry translated the spark into force and set it free at a distance. Then transmitted energy came under the control of man, as shown in the ringing of a bell. Morse made the electric fire a telegraph, that is, a far-off writer, Alexander Graham Bell made it a talker from afar.

Mr. Fillmore mourned that the fighters who destroy human life were honored even more than those who heal and help the race. Yet he was destined by Providence to assist in opening to the world an Oriental country in which, in our century, the physician is placed in the same line of promotion and given equal honor with the military commander. Though not reckoned among the nations as nominally Christian, Japan, a true pupil of the Anglo-Saxon peoples has carried out practical Christianity, leading all nations in the humane conduct of war.

To Millard Fillmore, possibly more than to any other man, the world owes the successful inauguration of the experimental telegraph between Baltimore and Washington, so far as the obtaining of money from the public funds to start it is concerned. In his own words he tells the story:

"Some time, I think in 1838, Professor Morse exhibited in one of the committee rooms of the Capitol, at Washington, what would probably now be deemed a rude model of his telegraph and among others, I went by invitation to see it; but I gave it very little examination, and what he proposed to do seemed so miraculous that I had little faith in it. The power of the electric current at short distances was known, but the fact was not yet ascertained how far this power could be transmitted, and it was to settle this point he asked the aid of Congress, but for some reason no aid was given; and the next that I heard was that he was in Europe, asking for aid to introduce his invention there."

Morse evidently believed in Fillmore, for he called on him in New York when on his way to Congress in 1842, and requested him to go again and see his telegraph machine. Mr. Fillmore went and saw it in operation. From that time the Congressman had faith in the telegraph.

When Congress opened, Morse appeared in Washington with his batteries and his thousand miles of wire, and set up his apparatus in one of the committee rooms. Mr.

Fillmore visited him and "became convinced that here was an invention that was destined to aid in the civilization and progress of the world."

The bill to aid Morse in laying an experimental line from Baltimore to Washington was reported from the Committee on Commerce. Mr. Morse occupied an anxious seat in the gallery of the Senate during the last day and evening of the session. Being assured that there was no possibility of a vote being reached that night, he came away and sought his bed to sleep the sleep of exhaustion. Yet the bill passed, despite sneers and ridicule. In the morning, a young woman, Miss Ellsworth, informed Morse that the bill had become law, her father being present in Congress at the close of the session. Overjoyed and grateful, Morse told her that she should send the initial message over the first line of telegraph that should be opened.

When the time came, on May 24th, 1844, to turn flashes into letters, the mother of Miss Ellsworth suggested the message "What hath God wrought"! Morse transmitted it to Baltimore and the operator there telegraphed it back to Washington. Mr. Fillmore testified concerning the bill "When it came up for consideration in the House, it was attacked by argument and ridicule, and finally passed by a very small majority. Some thought it a foolish expenditure of money upon a chimerical project, and others, by way of ridicule, proposed to add a sum to test experiments in mesmerism," etc.

"I, however, advocated the bill, and though I could not say that the telegraph would do all its inventor had predicted, nevertheless I thought it was possible, and even probable that it might, and if it would, I should regard it as a national blessing, and $30,000 was not much for the nation to pay on a contingency of this kind, and the bill was passed and became a law on the 3rd of March, 1843."

The gateway of a new House Wonderful was now opened

for all the world. Three days after the first message, the National Democratic Convention, sitting in Baltimore, nominated for President James K. Polk and for Vice-President, Millard Fillmore's recent rival, Silas Wright, then in the United States Senate. The news of the nomination was immediately sent by telegraph from Baltimore to Mr. Morse, who showed the Senator the message. When Mr. Wright declined the nomination, Morse transmitted the news to the convention. Such rapidity of business was, however, too much for the members, whether from the backwoods or the cities. Unbelief held the upper hand. A committee was appointed to go to Washington to confer with Mr. Wright, and the Convention adjourned until confirmation was received. However, the telegraph had come to stay. It was more than a nine day's wonder, and became the general topic of conversation.

In the line of the ancestry of the inventors of the telegraph, the Americans, Moses Farmer and Joseph Henry should have the most honored places. In the line of those who nursed the invention to success, besides Morse, Vail, and Cornell, Millard Fillmore's place is secure.

Nevertheless surprise and incredulity waited even upon demonstration. Many were the lectures, exhibitions, experiments, long journeys and anxious days and nights, which Ezra Cornell was yet to take before even so practical a people as the Americans were ready to stop their jesting and to believe, invest, and utilize what is now a daily, yes, an hourly necessity, and has given the world a new nervous system.

In Washington, the "cavalier reign" of Tyler was succeeded in the White House by the "Puritan austerity" of Mrs. Polk. The 4th of March, 1845, was a rainy day. The worst time of the year had been made the elect one for beginning a new government. Pennsylvania Avenue, then unpaved, was slippery with mud, and some of the marching

soldiers fell down. On stormy inauguration days, like that of Polk's in 1845 and Taft's in 1909, and for a few hours later, the great American people think that the date should be changed ; but "as soon as their feet are dry, they forget all about it."

CHAPTER VI.

Champion of American Principles.

The problem of immigration is a hydra-headed one. It was as keen in Mr. Fillmore's day as in ours. . . . It was not then a question of race or color, nor had Asia loomed up, either as a labor market or as a feeder of the American population. Yet it threatened a complication even worse—if not the curse of a state religion, at least a form of the union of Church and State, from which danger, by the war of independence, from Great Britain and from Europe, we had been delivered.

The crisis, under Governor William H. Seward's administration, showed Millard Fillmore to be the unquailing champion of American ideas and principles. As the question of immigration still presses and, by the action of California in her land laws of 1913, has shown how our national integrity, as embodied in the treaties as part of the supreme law of the land may be involved, we here sketch in brief the historical outlines of the subject.

Immediately after the formation of our Government in 1787, and until the war of 1812, this nativistic idea dominated and divided the men of the two great parties. The feeling on this side of the Atlantic was aggravated by the French and British struggles of the Napoleonic era. Both American parties expressed anxiety to preserve neutrality, but the Federalists desired war with France and the Democratic-Republican party war against Great Britain. The immigrants of this era, being either United Irishmen, or men driven from home because of their hostility to the British Government, naturally took the Democratic view of things, while the Federalists became an anti-alien party. This alliance of the foreign emigrants with the Democratic party has been in the main kept up to the present day.

In the history of naturalization, the first act, of 1790, made only two years's residence necessary, but in 1795 the time was increased to five years. Insistence on brevity or length of residence previous to naturalization now became an index of party policy. When the Federalists got into power, taking advantage of the war-fever against France, they passed the Alien and Sedition Laws and made fourteen years the period of necessary residence before naturalization. In the reaction of Jefferson's election, when the Democrats came into power, in 1800, they fixed the period of residence at five years. This meant a new stream of reinforcement for the Democratic party. Among those in Congress who voted for the declaration of war against Great Britain, in 1812, were six former members of the Society of United Irishmen.

The matter came up afterwards in the Hartford Convention, but after the peace of 1815 and "the era of good feeling," the opposition to aliens ceased. There was no resurrection of nativism until 1835, in New York city, and again in 1843, when the victorious Democratic mayor gave many offices to foreign-born citizens. This added fuel to the fire and the Native American movement spread southward. In the Philadelphia riots, blood was shed and two Catholic churches were burned.

Quite early in its municipal history, Buffalo was in favor with the immigrant Germans, and in a generation or so it had a notable proportion of people from the Fatherland, who brought their thrift, industry, and generally good neighborly qualities to the upbuilding of the city. In time, these people notably stimulated the popular musical and artistic taste, and enriched the facilities of culture. Mr. Fillmore usually distinguished in practice between Dutch and German. He did not employ the word "Dutch" when he meant "German," and did not speak of the Germans when he meant Netherlanders. He was, usually

at least, free from this abominable solecism of the uncultured American.

Besides noting the increasing German immigration to this country and how prone the people from the Fatherland were to settle along the great thoroughfares from New York to Cincinnati, Mr. Fillmore had a high idea of their intelligence and solid traits of character. They were acquiring the rights of suffrage by naturalization, yet there was no Whig newspaper between the Hudson and the Mississippi. Resolving to have German journalism in Buffalo, he with other gentlemen secured the services of a capable and intelligent editor, and a Whig German newspaper was started which flourished for some years.

This was Mr. Fillmore's first experience with any large numbers of immigrants from Europe. Yet, besides noticing the tendency of the newcomers from various countries to settle, even to congestion, in the large cities he was struck with the fact that they brought their old world notions with them. Nor would they easily relinquish them. Some wanted a virtual union of Church and State, at least in the matter of education. They would have the school fund divided so as to support their church schools, in which the particular dogmas and ritual of one form of religion was taught. When he saw politicians and statesmen uniting with priests to introduce this European idea into the United States, Mr. Fillmore, as a true American and a champion of freedom of conscience, took the alarm.

It was during the decade, from 1835 to 1845, that the warm friendship of Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Seward began to cool. Poorly informed persons imagine that these partners in the degrading business of rewarding partisans with federal patronage quarreled solely on division of spoil, in 1850. Previous, however, to any or all differences on the ethical and legal phases of slavery, or the alienation of feeling between President and Senator, because of appoint-

ments to office, there was a still more serious matter, on which these two statesmen could never see eye to eye. From early boyhood, Fillmore held with profound conviction to the American idea in public education. He was not only stalwart in his ideal as to the complete separation of Church and State, but he insisted that sectarians should pay for their own pedagogics and propaganda. Money raised by taxation was not to be used for dogmatics.

When Seward, elected as the first Whig Governor of New York in 1838, and re-elected in 1840, recommended division of the public funds in support of the sects in education, Fillmore was horrified. He was unalterably opposed to this. He believed in the public teaching of ethics, conduct and duty, but not of "religion," so called. As organized and supervised by men who make a living by teaching dogmas, the church may or may not promote lofty morals. Fillmore was always a native American of the stalwart type.

Those who date the estrangement of these two statesmen from the beginning of the Taylor administration look only on the surface, or to the occasion rather than to the cause. Something deeper than the distribution of official patronage, even a loyal adherence to a fundamental American principle, very creditable to Fillmore, separated these patriots. In this, Fillmore was nearer to the mind of the fathers of the Constitution than was Seward. He had no antipathy to men because they were aliens, but he prized American liberty and the privileges of the republic too highly to believe that foreigners could at once appreciate them, or that they should be prematurely allowed to receive or exercise the highest of these at once.

On the matter of race-hatred, Mr. Fillmore's record is a noble one. His personal relations with the negro were most kindly. He believed in absolute truth and justice to the black man and to slaves—subject to the Constitution, which from him received unquestioning obedience and loyalty to both the spirit and the letter.

In 1844, Millard Fillmore was nominated by the Whigs for the Governorship of the State of New York, against Silas Wright. He would almost to a certainty have been elected, but for the unfortunate pro-slavery letter which Mr. Clay wrote to a friend. He penned the missive, thinking that it would not see the light until after election, but it became public before he knew it. Henry Clay thus helped the Abolitionists in many New York counties, so that Alvin Stewart, their candidate, got 15,000 votes.

Until Clay's indiscretion, many voters did not care whether Texas came in with, or without slavery. Fond partisans sang with confidence,—

"The country's risin'
For Clay and Frelinghuysen,"

but enough voters declined to rise. Still undaunted, Henry Clay remained in politics; but Mr. Frelinghuysen turned his activities to education, and was long the honored President of Rutgers College. Like Mr. Taft he became the teaching statesman.

In 1846, for the first time, the comptroller of New York State was elected by the people, and Millard Fillmore was chosen. There was little pecuniary allurement to one who had always plenty of lucrative cases on hand, with an income of $10,000 a year; for the salary was then but $2,500.

Mr. Filmore came into his new position as a man ideally qualified by character, temperament, habits, and experience. He was above all cautious, withal industrious and fond of work. He had the health and mental vigor to match his complicated task and a natural aptitude for financial affairs, besides notable experience in Congress, to say nothing of his love for the Commonwealth in which he had been born and bred.

Being soon called into national service, Mr. Fillmore had only time to write one official report. He began the duties of his office Jan. 1st, 1848, was nominated for Vice Presi-

dent in June and was elected in November. He resigned his office as Comptroller on February 20th, 1849, having served not quite fourteen months.

Unalterably opposed, as he was, to the Bank of the United States, Mr. Fillmore proposed a method based on the bonds of the National Government. In a word, he anticipated our national banking system which, since the war between the States, has given stability to our finances. During a period of unparalleled growth, such steadiness would not have been possible under old methods. In this twentieth century, when we have seen our twenty thousand banks, two thousand millions of hard and nine hundred millions of paper dollars, and a three billion dollar currency, we may well be thankful that so cautious a financier as Millard Fillmore held this high office and pointed out a better way.

Mr. Fillmore's resignation was to take effect on the 20th of February, 1849, so that his successor could be in Albany before he should have reached Washington.

One of the last acts of President Polk was to invite Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore to dine with him in the White House, which they did. "The King is dead. Long live the King!" Thus peacefully and with true courtesy, one administration made way for another.

CHAPTER VII.

Parties and Politics in 1848.

The questions of the extension of slavery and its logical sequence, the Mexican War, had been raised for the express purpose, it seemed to some, of wrecking the Whig party. Politics were made sectional by drawing a line between voluntary and slave labor. Calhoun, once an ally, loomed up as the arch-marplot. For years he had been scheming to dissolve the fragile bond uniting Northern and Southern Whigs in a national party. His "Texas question," prelude to the strife with Mexico, created the fissure. The crafty enemies of the Whigs wanted them to vote against hostilities, in order to array the two sectional elements of the party against one another. A vote against the war was more dangerous to a Southern than to a Northern Whig. Nevertheless, when it was declared that war had arisen by the act of the Republic of Mexico, the Whigs voted steadily for supplies, on the principle that the army once thrust into danger must be supported. This sort of craft still flourishes, as the favorite trick of politicians and contractors.

Again the Whig armor was penetrated, when, after peace, the Wilmot Proviso was introduced. This prohibited slavery in the new territory ceded from Mexico. Month by month, as the question was debated in Congress, the Democrats, presenting a solid front of opposition, drove all advocates of the Proviso out of their organization. The Whigs were thus so disastrously affected that a "reorganization of parties" was talked of. As usual, New York was the storm center and soon the crisis was precipitated. All attempts to stifle discussion or to postpone action were in vain. It was now clearly seen that Seward and Fillmore, who had long before diverged in opinion, on the school fund, were at the parting of the ways. The latter was

rigidly conservative in mind and a strict constructionist of the Constitution, while William H. Seward was a bold interpreter and fearless progressive. The latter had a prophetic eye. Fillmore saw only the Constitution. The two antagonists were soon to become open enemies.

On the 27th of September, 1848, in the convention at Syracuse, an anti-slavery resolution, which also favored Mr. Seward, was carried by a vote of 76 to 40. At once, the Chairman of the Convention, Mr. Granger, threw down his gavel and with his delegates left the hall. Among these bolting delegates were several prominent men who had gray hair. Thereafter this "Fillmore wing" of the party was called "The Silver Greys." "For this cause," said Mr. Granger, "I shall fight as long as I live, nor do I ask any higher post than to be a private in the ranks of the Silver Greys."

Henceforth there were two visible factions in the Whig party. The one led by Seward, dominated the councils of President Zachary Taylor. The other, headed by Fillmore, was advised, with power, by Daniel Webster. Fillmore was influenced though far from overcome, or even overshadowed, by that remarkable personality. With such factors, national and personal at work,—the slavery question and the division of spoils—low temperature in the relations between the President and the Vice-President and the satellites and followers of each, speedily developed. Nevertheless, this interplay of radicals and conservatives kept the pace of the nation toward war from being too rapid.

No sort of riches is more deceitful than those gained, or supposed to be gained by war, and the American people were again to be deluded. As the end of Polk's administration drew near, the excitable American people, carried away as usual by the dangerous enthusiasm of a successful war, clamored for a military candidate. The Democrats, having purged their party of upholders of the Wilmot Pro-

viso, now sufficiently homogeneous, defied all danger from the slavery question. The Whigs, however, were driven to seek a standard bearer, who should, by his having touched the popular heart, conceal their own lack of unity. Such a figure-head was Zachary Taylor. Having spent nearly all of his life in military duty on the frontier, and as it was said, having never voted, he was densely ignorant of civil administration, and on many delicate questions of government as guileless as a lamb. Yet these very defects, in his case, helped both his nomination and election. Since he disliked to use the veto power, he was very popular in the North. The owner of three hundred slaves, he was acceptable at the South. Before the whole country, he professed to be a "people's candidate."

In Philadelphia, on the 24th of February, 1847, Henry Clay held a reception which eclipsed in popular enthusiasm even the reception of Lafayette in 1824. At least five thousand women swelled the throng that wafted the incense of joyous appreciation to the captivating man who, in the Quaker city, had broken all records of popularity. Clay fully expected the nomination.

Thurlow Weed and Millard Fillmore had thought first of Abbott Lawrence, of Massachusetts; who had been with Fillmore in Congress, for the vice-presidency, and they two conferred with this gentleman at the Astor House. But in the November Convention, it was clear that Clay's friends were violently against the idea of a New England man for vice-president, declaring that they would "not have cotton at both ends of the ticket." Mr. Lawrence was a dry goods merchant and a prominent manufacturer of cotton goods. He was also one of the founders of the city of mills on the Merrimac, one of the largest of its sort in the world, and which bears his name. In the colloquial, Clay's friends "refused to cotton to its maker."

Mr. Seward was not named as vice-president, because he

could not secure "the American vote," he having offended tens of thousands of voters by recommending a division of the school fund for sectarian teaching.

The managers of the convention, which met at Philadelphia in the old Chinese Museum, on June 7th, 1848, decided that the claims and necessities of "availability" were greater than those of popularity, and on the second day and fourth ballot, Taylor received 171 votes to 107 for all others.

After Taylor's nomination by the Philadelphia convention, there was a stormy recess. A caucus was held and Mr. Kenneth Raynor of North Carolina, afterwards Solicitor of the Treasury under President Garfield, came within one vote of nomination. When the convention reassembled, Mr. John A. Collier of New York, a former fellow member in Congress and predecessor in the Comptrollership of Mr. Fillmore, made a conciliatory speech. He portrayed the sorrow and disappointment of the friends of Mr. Clay, but said also that he rose with a peace offering, which would go far to reconcile the friends and prevent a breach in the party. He then appealed for a unanimous response to the nomination, which he made, of Millard Fillmore for the vice-presidency! This *coup d'état* was successful, and the friends of Abbott Lawrence approved.

From that day to the election, Thurlow Weed and Millard Fillmore were constantly together.

Two dreadfully disappointed men were Clay, now over seventy years of age, and Webster, who was sixty-five. Their chagrin was pitiful to behold. Yet the spirit of Webster rose with defeat.

Called from the army to the chief office in the gift of the nation, Taylor was densely ignorant of the details of civil procedure. Until informed to the contrary by Mr. J. J. Crittenden, he supposed that the vice-president was *ex officio* a member of the Executive Council. On the discovery of this fact, Taylor, in a letter to Mr. Fillmore, expressed his

regret that he was not to enjoy his presence in the Cabinet. Nevertheless he should rely upon his experience and ask his views on all great questions.

Zachary Taylor was sixty-four years old and in some respects the least competent candidate for the presidency known in the country's history. Apart from dispensing the spoils of office, the ex-army officer, now President, was on trial as to his statesmanship. In American history the failures of military men, when put into the Presidential chair, outstand like great landmarks of warning. Such presidents have been either "heroes" in civil life, or they were safe because nonentities. They were very apt to be like the Duke of Wellington, "who had no great faith in the progress of humanity, no lively feeling of the strength and majesty of moral powers."

Furthermore, all the new questions, whether railroad, canal, public lands, or what not, were in 1850 made white hot in the electric current of the slavery question. The most harmless matter became a red rag in the eyes of men who were insane on the question of perpetuating African servitude. Nevertheless, seeing clearly the bold headlands of national destiny, President Taylor rose to the occasion. In a time of partisan heat and seditional dangers, he might have been, except for his untimely decease, a mighty maker of American history.

"Geography is half" of what Sherman called "hell", but the attempt to extend the area of human servitude made it the whole of war in the United States. In its rampancy, slavery was striving to be national, but "Mexico was avenged on her spoiler", for the acquisition of Texas reopened the fatal controversy between slavery and freedom, which the Missouri Compromise had put to sleep in Congress for thirty years. Nevertheless Taylor faced his task honestly. He thwarted Calhoun's plans and guarded the territories against Mexico. He handled with firmness the

dangerous controversy between Texas and New Mexico, of state right and national supremacy which Mr. Fillmore finally settled. He encouraged whaling in the Pacific Ocean, and was broad minded and far seeing as to Hawaii. During his administration three territories were organized.

Within the Executive Mansion, President Taylor's life was free from smart and care. Mrs. Henry L. Scott, his niece, then considered the handsomest woman in Washington, presided "with the artlessness of a rustic belle and the grace of a duchess", dispensing a noble hospitality. In the White House gas was introduced and the rooms were brightened with new furniture and carpets. As for the President, he was a popular citizen, and was noted for his regular walks in Washington.

There was as yet no serious external political difference between Fillmore and Seward; but, in the division of the spoil, there is always danger from adherents and camp followers. Senator Seward and the Vice-President elect dined with Thurlow Weed at Albany on their way to Washington.

CHAPTER VIII.

Vice-President. Assertion of Nationalism.

Millard Fillmore was vice-president of the United States at the beginning of the last decade of the first era of the Nation and Government. A Whig, he faced a Democratic majority in the Senate, which met March 3, 1849.

Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was made Speaker of the House, in which there was no party majority, the Free Soilers holding the balance of power.

The winter of 1849-'50 was one of fierce agitation. The debates were prolonged during nine months, or 273 days, with many night sessions, continuing to the end of the summer. The heat of controversy kept pace with that of the weather. "The question of California was splitting the nation." Its admission as a free state meant the breaking of "the balance of power" between the free and slave states. Within a few days, after Henry Clay had introduced his Compromise Measure, on February 13, 1850, this commonwealth on the Pacific coast made application for admission as a state, but not until autumn opened did Clay's separate bills become law. On September 9th, 1850, California was made a State in the Union, and three weeks later Congress adjourned.

During this historic session, much like that of 1914, tendencies and personages, typical of their time and in a sense culminations of the old, were nearing their acme, to pass away forever.

In his book entitled "The War Between the States," Alexander H. Stephens gives a brilliant description of the United States Senate, full as it was of rising, risen, and setting suns. He speaks of it as "that grandest intellectual constellation—moral qualities and all considered—which was ever beheld in the political firmament of this or any

other country. . . . . The crowning halo was imparted by Millard Fillmore, who presided over the whole as Vice-President of the United States. He was of most imperturbable temper and of a personal appearance in every way impressive. There was dignity in the head of the ambassadors of the States in Grand Council assembled, which fully accorded with all the surroundings. Order and decorum, with all the proprieties which should govern high debate, were stamped on his brow. Of him, taken together, it might be said with as much truth as of any other public character I ever met with, 'there indeed is a man, in whom there is no guile.'" Stephens' eulogy of Fillmore reads almost like the Japanese proverb, "The gods have their throne on the brow of a just man."

In the very prime of life, Mr. Fillmore, his hair not yet silvered, standing six feet high and of fine presence, made a striking figure among great men. He had resolved to be not a nominal but a real moderator of the Senate, and he said so at the time. He would follow the rule of rigid fairness and perfect courtesy.

In his brief opening address, of about five hundred words, to the Senate, March 4th, 1849, he said:

"Senators: Never having been honored with a seat on this floor, and never having acted as the presiding officer of any legislative body, you will not doubt my sincerity, when I assure you that I assume the responsible duties of this chair with a conscious want of experience and a just appreciation that I shall often need your friendly suggestions, and more often your indulgent forbearance."

He compared "the peaceful changes of chief magistrate of this Republic with the recent sanguinary revolutions in Europe." Instead of the voice of the people being heard only "amid the din of arms and the horrors of domestic conflicts . . . . . the resistless will of the nation has from time to time been peaceably expressed by the free voice of

the people, and all have bowed in obedient submission to their decree. The Administration which but yesterday wielded the destinies of this great nation, to-day quietly yields up its power and without a murmur retires from the Capital." With such "cheering evidences of our capacity for self-government," said he, "let us hope that the sublime spectacle we now witness may be repeated as often as the people shall desire a change of rulers, and that this venerated Constitution and this glorious Union may endure forever."

Mr. Fillmore set himself to understand fully his duties, not only in their practical aspect, but also in the light of their historical origin. As usual, he made a thorough study of the subject. The result was his remarkable address to the Senate of April 3rd, 1850, over a year after his induction in office, on the preservation of order in that body.

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, the American Barneveldt and incarnation of the extreme doctrines of State Right, had, when Vice President, in 1826, made a decision in the Senate, that clearly revealed his own theories of government. To his mind, the Constitution was a temporary compact between States particular, once thirteen in number, to be dissolved at the will of the individual states —one, few, or many making the dissolution. Hence the Senate was, in his view, only the American States-General, the gathering of the envoys of the States particular, or political units, represented in the deliberative body. He therefore, in 1826, as Vice-President, officially declared "that in his opinion he had no authority to call a Senator to order for words spoken in debate."

In other words, the executive power of the nation was so subordinate to the legislative, that the Vice-President must simply act as a sort of moderator, as the second servant of the American States-General, and not as the living voice

of a nation that was greater than its component parts. Against such a notion, the soul of Fillmore, the American, loyal not only to the Constitution and the Union but to the nation, revolted. He believed in the indissoluble union of indestructible states and that the people of all the states were a nation, whose body was greater than its members.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, the functions and proper form of address to be given to the Vice-President had been much discussed. The titles of the English kings, "Sire," "Dread Sir," "Defender of the Faith," "Most Exalted Majesty", etc., were noted and pondered. The ultimate settlement of the question depended upon the status of the President.

Was the President of the United States a Stadholder, that is, a lieutenant, or power-holder for the nation, or was he a king, who has power in himself alone? When it was suggested that the President's title should be "His Excellency", Mr. Benjamin Franklin said, "In that case, I suppose the Vice-President ought to be called 'His Most Superfluous Highness'". To this status, the view of Calhoun would reduce the Vice-President of the United States.

In the view of "practical" politicians, especially since the era of nominating conventions, Vice-Presidents are "products of the political bargain-counter". Nevertheless, Millard Fillmore made himself more than this. He was certainly an educator of the Senate.

Notably different, in numbers, was the Senate of 1849, as compared with its first session in New York in 1789, over which John Adams presided. The thirteen states had become thirty and the number of members had increased from twenty-six to sixty. As Mr. Fillmore said, "Many little irregularities may be tolerated in a small body, that would cause disorder in a large one. . . . A practice seems to have grown up of interrupting a Senator when speaking, by addressing him directly, instead of addressing the Chair, as required by the rule."

"One of the first acts of this body in 1789, was to appoint a committee to prepare a system of rules for conducting business in the Senate. . . . That Committee reported a number of rules, which were adopted, and among the rest" was one which required that "every question of order shall be decided by the President, without debate."

"These rules remained the same until 1828", when they were amended and after a long and interesting debate, "the amendment was finally agreed to by a vote of more than two to one", which, in the language of Mr. Calhoun himself, "as to the power conferred upon the Chair" did, as Mr. Fillmore declared, recognize "the power to call to order in the Vice-President." In the House of Representatives, the twenty-second rule of that body declares that:

"If any member . . . . in speaking or otherwise, transgresses the rules of the House, the Speaker *shall* or any member *may* call to order", etc.

The italics and all the sentences in quotation marks, except the text of the rules, are Mr. Fillmore's, as given in his address to the Senate, April 3rd, 1850. He further quoted from Jefferson's Manual, "which," said he, "seems to be a code of common law for the regulation of all parliamentary bodies in this country", to reinforce his position. He concluded by saying, "As presiding officer of the Senate, I feel that my duty consists in executing its will, as declared by its rules and by its practice."

In a word, Millard Fillmore reversed the rule of John C. Calhoun. His address, notable in the history of the nation's highest legislative body, delivered with Mr. Fillmore's usual and characteristic urbanity, made a profound impression. It was a clear recognition that the Senate of the United States, so far from being merely a States-General, or the deliberative body of a League of Thirteen States, was the servant of a sovereign nation, and greater than the States themselves. To Mr. Fillmore, the Union and the Nation

were more than a name. Instead of a figure of speech, the term "United States" stood for an indestructible reality.

No action was taken by the Senate, except to order the Vice-President's remarks entered on the Journal and printed. Their immediate effect, however, was to check certain disorderly tendencies in the Senate and to secure more scrupulous observances of the rules of order and courtesy.

Outside the Senate Chamber, in which he was absolutely impartial, the vice-president had little influence and no power. By Seward and Weed he was treated with marked contempt and the Taylor administration gave him the cold shoulder. No favors he had asked had been granted. The appointment of two personal friends at Buffalo was denied him and their places given to Seward's partisans, or anti-Fillmore Whigs.

The Senate's presiding officer, from New York, "raised in the backwoods," contrasted in both his language and demeanor with those of most Congressmen new to their position. Ante-bellum rhetoric was lurid and legislative manners were often barbarous. One can hardly help comparing the deportment of this epoch with that of the first four or five presidents, as most of these attended the little Fredericksburg School, and were drilled in the great Jesuit, Lèonard Périn's Rules of Behavior, as we have shown in "Belgium, the Land of Art." Congressmen went to their work armed for a possible altercation. One episode, between Foote of Mississippi and Benton of Missouri, is famous. The aftermath, in publication—Benton's big book, with its "retort of silence" about the Mississippian, and Foote's little book, unfavorably criticizing the man from Missouri, are less known. It is uncertain whether Foote's pistol was loaded.

In the Senate it was common to have wine on the desk of Senators, and all have heard of the famous "Hole in the

Wall," where strong liquors, always ready, were served. The use of intoxicating liquor was still more common in the House, and the scenes of drunkenness and disorder, on the last night of the session of 1849, beggar description. There was a great supply of whiskey on hand and several members were carried out drunk and unfit for business.

In the old Senate Room of 1849, presided over by Millard Fillmore, was gathered a body of gentlemen clad in sombre broadcloth, who wore tall silk hats, used quill pens and sanded the wet ink on their sheets of writing paper. These were the days of black satin socks, of side whiskers, and of hair cut in one style for the upper, and in another, with "soap locks," for the lower grade. "Stand-up" and sharp-cut collars, with affluence of ribbons for eye-glasses, or time pieces in fobs, with watch-guards and seals, were common.

For warmth in winter, grate fires of hickory wood gave out a caloric glow radiating but a few feet, though in winter reinforcement was made by Franklin stoves burning anthracite. On cold days, Senators, leaving their seats, backed up to the grate and, lifting their coat tails, stimulated circulation, or, more directly, with hands and feet stretched out, warmed their extremities. If they were obliged to keep at their desks in freezing weather, they wrapped themselves from head to foot in their long woolen shawls, then so fashionable. These were fastened at the neck with safety pins, four or five inches long. Snuff-taking was so common that, besides two well filled boxes kept on the presiding officer's desk, several of the twelve pages were kept busy in responding to senatorial demands for this nasal stimulant. Some very famous men were so addicted to the use of snuff that they could not speak well, without frequent dips into their boxes. For more fiery piquancy, the Hole in the Wall—a little room with bar and restaurant—sufficed often, but too well.

Nevertheless, there was, on the whole, rather an excess of dignity in some things. Many of the Senators were grave, even to austerity. All visitors must take off their hats and a monitor was employed to warn all comers to uncover. There was no telegraph office in the building, and as Senators had no secretaries, most of them remained after adjournment to pen their correspondence, leaving the sealing and mailing to be done by the boys who acted as pages.

Almost startling in memory seems the contrast of the style of oratory then in vogue, which was certainly as effective as it was enjoyed. Even the average discussion was then wholly different from the business-like procedure, and, in general, the commonplace talk of those mercantile politicians of to-day who imagine themselves statesmen, or of Senators, representing trusts and corporations, rather than commonwealths. The old flights of eloquence, in attack and defense, and in the assertion of great principles, have made for us a storehouse of classic oratory, in which the names of the nation-builders shine as stars forever.

CHAPTER IX.

Union the Supreme Issue.

Whatever men said or thought of the intellectual giants, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, in the days of their life on earth, we see very clearly now, that they were true to their convictions and record, and so was Millard Fillmore.

With three of these men, slavery or its abolition was a secondary matter. As was Lincoln's, so, equally was theirs. The maintenance of the union of the states was their hope and to this end they toiled, each in unbending devotion.

To judge of them in any other light than that of purity of motive seems an outrage on their memory. Clay and Fillmore lived up to their records as well as to their light. Webster did the same. To appraise rightly, or to interpret fairly his famous speech of March 7th, 1850, one must know Webster's unswerving purpose and attitude, as revealed in years previous, during a whole generation. When he replied to Hayne, as he, twenty years later, replied to Calhoun, his purpose and outlook were one and the same. He had no more respect for sectionalism north than sectionalism south. He believed slavery would soon die its own death, yet it was neither of this issue, nor of the presidential candidacy, that he was thinking so much, as of answering the political disunion theories of Calhoun.

He who reads and ponders this speech, of May 7, 1850, instead of swallowing tradition in a lump and then reviling a great patriot, he who studies the circumstances of the day and hour, rather than Whittier's poem "Ichabod", the diatribes of his enemies, or the contemporaneous rhetoric concerning the alleged "fall of an archangel", sees at once a passionate and convincing plea for the Union. It was that speech, more than any other one element in the

conflict of sentiment and confusion of interests, that in 1861 held the border states true to the flag of the stripes and stars, thus securing the ultimate doom of secession. No other piece of literature was so effective in moving tens of thousands of young men to enlist in the armies of the Union.

Miss Frederika Bremer, of Sweden, then visiting Washington, paints in vivid words the scene on March 7th, 1850, when, after a tedious pro-slavery speech, "a thrill, as if from a noiseless electric shock, passed through the assembly; a number of fresh persons entered the principal doors, and at once Daniel Webster was seen to stand. . . A stillness as of death reigned in the house and all eyes were fixed on Webster." She said "nobody is as wise as Webster looks, not even Mr. Webster himself", with his arched forehead and deep-set eyes which seemed "catacombs of ancient wisdom". She felt the overpowering effect of his speech, seeing in him a pacificator. In private conversation, she was impressed with his belief in "the healing vitality of the people."

Webster's famous speech of March 7th, 1850 "oftener reviled than read", is best appreciated to-day, when the temporary issue of slavery is dead, while the problem of national union, because of Mexico, Japan, and the vital, but as yet unsettled question of State Right vs. Central Government is quick ond perennial. Though not previously written out (but stenographically reported by Mr., later Professor Hiram Corson, of Cornell University as he told me in detail) it was delivered in words, measured in a deep soul, and each one weighed, as if for eternity. It was nothing more or less than an answer to Calhoun's ultimatum of March 4th, which had meant disunion and secession. In the South Carolinian's manifesto, there had been no menace or bluster, but the utterance of clear and profound intellectual conviction. Webster's reply to Calhoun fixed

the determination of thousands of young men in the border states of 1861 in loyalty to the Union, even as it moved myriads in the North to stand by the old flag. As a soldier in the war between the states, in 1863 I am sure of this. Northern sectionalism misread Webster's masterpiece.

This matchless oration of May 7th, 1850, which meant the perpetuation of American nationality was, by Webster himself, entitled "Speech for the Union and Constitution." It is a massive stone, built immovably and imperishably, in the impregnable wall of "the Union forever." Calhoun, who heard the unanswerable argument, listened for the last time. He was never able to come again to the Senate, and he died twenty-three days later.

The Northern sectionalists who heard or read Webster's greatest speech, and the pertinant comments on it, were not in a state of mind to appraise judicially its meaning, motive, or value, and the effect was the opposite of what Webster intended and expected. A deluge of abuse, rhyme without reason and in poetry, prose and pathos, fell upon the orator and statesman who had educated a generation in loyalty to the nation. The man who, with supremacy of intellect and unplummeted depth of affection for the Union, had combatted the State Right doctrines of Barneveldt and Calhoun found himself branded "Ichabod." Whittier misread Webster, and was as thoroughly mistaken, in writing stump speech poems, as when picturing in his fascinating numbers the historical Stonewall Jackson and the probably mythical incident of Barbara Frietchie. Thousands of others, passion-blind, were, like the poet, lacking in range of vision. The Friend poet made apology for his first mistake, but not for his injustice to Webster.

Miss Bremer pictures Henry Clay as "the dying gladiator," who had "a glance of genius which requires but little knowledge to enable it to perceive and comprehend much." As Clay gave his last address in the Senate, Charles Sumner

entered to begin his national career, Four days later, on March 11th, Seward uttered his famous phrase, "the higher law."

During nine months of angry controversy over slavery, Millard Fillmore held the scales with such judicial nicety and unfailing courtesy, that no one could tell which policy he approved. Amid the high tides and surging seas of American oratory, he remained "tranquil amid the waves." Indeed, less like the eagle, carved in effigy and surmounting the canopy over his head, but more like Milton's bird of calm, "brooding on the charmèd wave," he sat in imperturbable dignity, as a model for all time.

When Millard Fillmore came to Washington, both as Congressman in 1832 and as Vice-President in 1849, the slave market was one of the "institutions" of the city. On advertised days, at the public auctions, coffles of blacks were led out to stand on high benches. Then the physical examination of both male and female humanity proceeded, as in a cattle market. Intending purchasers were allowed to handle the living flesh of girls and women, as they would those of dumb brutes. The strength in teeth, limbs, and body of athletic slaves was displayed as though they were bulls or draught-horses under the hammer.

As a little boy, I used to listen open-eyed and mouthed to the stories of famous slave auctions in Virginia, visited by cousins who had seen many a black Venus and ebony Hercules, as well as the common human stock, sold to the highest bidder. I heard sermons on the divinity of slavery—a favorite theme in many pulpits, both South and North. The philosophy of 1850 was much like that which produced the world-war of 1914. "To protect the weak, we must enslave them," said De Bow in his review. "Slavery is necessary as an educational institution and is worth ten times all the common schools of the North," said the same editor. In Washington the slave pen was visible from the capital.

On the other hand, the pulpit and the theatres were for the most part, the allies of freedom. "Uncle Tom," read in 300,000 copies of the book and played upon the stage, for millions. The realism of book and drama made millions weep for the man in the indigo swamps, or the laborer in the cotton fields who winced under the overseer's whip.

In the midst of the heat of July, when the end of the long debate was still twelve weeks distant, Mr. Fillmore was summoned by Providence to lay down his gavel and become the leader of the nation. His civil labors hardly more than begun, the hero of Buena Vista was called by the Great Commander from this world. He was one of the five presidents who before 1901 died in office, three of them being murdered. Seven vice-presidents, who served before 1901, died while in office.

Until within ten hours of Taylor's decease, the vice-president had hardly supposed that the sickness of his superior in office was serious or could be fatal. The reality of the situation dawned upon him "like a peal of thunder from a clear sky." The one sleepless night of his life followed, when he faced the fact that he must lead the nation as its chief executive.

Certain features in the United States Government are not under the classification of law, but are the natural outgrowths of American history. Among these are the inauguration ceremonies, except the oath, and the creation of a Cabinet. They form part of our unwritten Constitution.

Since Mr. Fillmore, who except Polk, was the youngest man so honored before the year 1850, was suddenly called to the chief magistracy of the nation, the simple inauguration of the thirteenth president satisfied fully the bare text of the Constitution. It lacked adornment, though in form it was primitive and impressive. On the morning following the decease of President Taylor, at twelve o'clock noon in the Senate Chamber, before the assembled houses of Con-

gress, the members standing during the ceremony, the oath of office was administered by the venerable Judge Cranch of the District of Columbia.

There were no ceremonies, but as soon as the Cabinet and Senate had retired, the Speaker announced a message from the new President as follows:

Washington, July 10th, 1850.

"Fellow-citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:—A great man has fallen among us, and a whole country is called to an occasion of unexpected deep and general mourning.

I recommend to the two Houses of Congress to adopt such measures as in their discretion may seem proper, to perform with due solemnity the funeral obsequies of Zachary Taylor, late President of the United States; and thereby to signify the great and affectionate regard of the American people for the memory of one whose life has been devoted to the public service; whose career in arms has not been surpassed in usefulness or brilliancy; who has been so recently raised by the unsolicited voice of the people to the highest civil authority in the government, which he administered with so much honor and advantage to his country; and by whose sudden death so many hopes of future usefulness have been blighted forever.

To you—Senators and Representatives of a nation in tears, I can say nothing which can alleviate the sorrow with which you are oppressed.

I appeal to you to aid me under the trying circumstances which surround me, in the discharge of the duties, from which, however much I may be oppressed by them, I dare not shrink; and I rely upon Him who holds in his hands the destinies of nations to endow me with the requisite strength for the task, and to avert from our country the evils apprehended from the heavy calamity which has befallen us.

I shall most readily concur in whatever measures the wisdom of the two Houses may suggest, as befitting this deeply melancholly occasion.

MILLARD FILLMORE."

Congress adjourned for three days, until July 13th, that is, until General Taylor had been buried.

CHAPTER X.

The President and his Cabinet.

The new President, thus inaugurated with a simplicity almost Spartan, immediately faced a shower of resignations. He had requested that the advisers of his predecessor would remain in office at least one month, and he hoped they would do so, but one and all declined. The penmanship of nearly all these July documents, now among "Letters Received," show the nervous tension of disappointment, with which the members of the Taylor Cabinet made haste to let Mr. Fillmore alone, and to take express trains from Washington homewards. Typewriting machines which blot out psychology and have closed the era of "author's manuscripts" were not then invented, and, without the interference of private secretaries, these writers of autographs reveal agitating emotions behind hands and pens. Mr. Fillmore was obliged, by peremptory necessity, to form his executive council without meditation.

There was one man, however, who remained on the ground, and evidently expected to influence the situation, if not to dominate the policy of the administration. Almost as soon as the hour hand of the clock permitted him to be called President, Mr. Fillmore received from "D. W.", a naked scrap of paper, bare of signature, in Daniel Webster's handwriting, entitled "For the President's information merely. On this slip is planned and named the Fillmore cabinet, as Daniel Webster thought it ought to be. The names of office and nominee are written out in full in every case except that of Secretary of State, under which are only three criss-crosses. The document reads as follows:

"For the President's consideration merely.

Sec. of State	* * *
Do. Treasury	Mr. Vinton.
Do. Interior	Mr. Graham
Do. War	Mr. Bates*
Do. Navy	Mr. Conrad
P. M. Gen'l	Mr. Pennington.
Att'y Gen'l	Mr. Crittenden.

D. W."

From this simple missive, penned by the great Daniel Webster, there is in the collection of "Letters Received" a downward gradation of recommendations and denunciations, as to the coarsest villifications and unmeasured pathos from nobodies of all sorts and conditions. General Scott also penned a missive, offering advice as to the making of the new cabinet. It reveals a weak and vain man. A real war hero, his courage in battle was as that of the traditional lion, but his pen was ever weaker than his sword.

Along with tons of advice dumped upon the new president, were chapters of blackest condemnation of Webster. Yet Mr. Fillmore knew that he was the one man, whom it would have been flying in the face of logic and consistency, if not destiny, to fail in placing at the front of the Cabinet, as Secretary of State. Profoundly sincere in making the offer, the new president was vastly gratified when Daniel Webster accepted the office.

General Scott's epistle was amusing. He added on his "slate," a commentary containing warnings, flattery, and cynical or languid judgments, while mentioning the names of Botts, Summers, Bridges, Raynen, Stanley, Dawson, Berrien, Bell, Jones, Crittenden, and Conrad. Except to

*This will come near being a Northwestern appointment. Mr. Bates is well known not only to the people of Missouri, but also to those of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and I believe highly respected by the Whigs in those states. This, in some points, is better than one farther South.

the delver in archives, most of these men's names are now hardly more than echoes. Of one or another of these Scott wrote. "Querellous (sic) from bad health and incapable of methodical, continuous labor"; "of decided moral courage, but with more enemies than friends, and associations that impair dignity;" "a charming character, good abilities, but lazy,—requiring a coal of fire applied to his back to make him better himself"; "a little blunt and rough in manners, which soldiers dislike, but forgive and tolerate in behalf of high worth"; "good chairman of military committee of the House"; "a nullifier, I fear he will push State Rights too far," etc., etc. Of J. J. Crittenden he wrote, "A high character, formerly a great friend of mine, not now an enemy; no habit of labor and perhaps not law enough to be Attorney General. Moral courage great. Right views and principles. Highly popular. Not so acceptable as Mr. Clay.

Respectfully submitted,

W. S."

Washington, July 16, 1850.

The Cabinet had increased from four persons, in the days of Washington, to seven in the time of Mr. Fillmore. The Secretary of the Navy entered the council in John Adams's and the Postmaster General during Jackson's administration. Owing to the great expansion of governmental interests in the new territory acquired from Mexico, an Act was passed, March 3rd, 1849, the day before the inauguration of General Taylor, creating the office of Secretary of the Interior. This number of seven executive advisers continued until long after the Civil War. The number in 1915 is ten and is likely to be increased.

The evidence shows that the new president sought advice from Henry Clay, and was notably guided by him in the selection of advisers. Fillmore's supreme object, like Lincoln's, was the preservation of the Union.

Within ten days, after taking the oath of office, President Fillmore transmitted, on July 20, for confirmation by the Senate, a message containing his nominations to the Cabinet.

Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts---Secretary of State
Thomas Corwin, of Ohio----Secretary of the Treasury
James A. Pearce, of Maryland-Secretary of the Interior
Wm. A. Graham, of North Carolina-Sec'y of the Navy
Edward Bates, of Missouri----------Secretary of War
Nathan K. Hall, of New York----Postmaster General
John J. Crittenden of Kentucky-----Attorney General

Although the Senate confirmed these nominations, Mr. Pearce and Mr. Bates were unable to accept. Subsequently T. Wort McKennan, then Alexander H. H. Stuart of Virginia took the portfolio of the newly created Department of the Interior, and C. M. Conrad of Louisiana became Secretary of War. The Postmaster-General was Mr. Fillmore's law partner in Buffalo. "Eminent ability, large experience in public affairs and great weight of character" were embodied in this selection.

One of the ablest, as he was the handsomest man in the President's Cabinet, was William Alexander Graham, of North Carolina, who had served repeatedly in his own State legislature and in the United States Senate, while Mr. Fillmore was in the House of Representatives. He had been twice elected Governor of North Carolina, but declined a third term. When summoned by Mr. Fillmore to the Navy Department, he displayed uncommon grasp, acumen, and executive vigor, giving to the Navy a fame in science, exploration and diplomacy, which has never been eclipsed. Of commanding figure, elegant manners and most agreeable address, his presence at the levees and receptions was eagerly courted. He lived to be an unsuccessful candidate for the vice-presidency, a senator of the Confederacy, and, for general usefulness, one of the first citizens of his native state, surviving his chief, Fillmore, a few months only and

making his farewell to earthly life at Saratoga Springs in mid-August, 1875.

Taylor's death carried confusion into the ranks of Fillmore's enemies. It was the battle summer of debate and the political parties seemed to prepare themselves for renewed combat over Taylor's grave. The impulses, higher than selfish and worldly interests, which the great chief had called forth, seemed buried with him. In the Senate, in place of "the urbane Fillmore" there was a new Speaker, Mr. King, of Alabama, "with more acerbity of manner and considerably less grace."

A Whig in politics, the new President confronted a Democratic Congress. In the judicial branch of the Government, only one Whig sat on the Supreme Court Bench. The end of "the grand old party" was approaching, though Mr. Fillmore knew it not and few could foresee its utter dissolution.

Fierce light beat upon the new president. Newspaper articles freighted with advice, in all sorts and degrees of sanity, were showered upon the man who had suddenly become the greatest in the United States. The letters still on file show what resources of absurdity exist in human nature of the American variety, and frequently recall Carlyle's census and verdict. As a helmsman exposed to all winds, temperatures and states of moisture soon gets weather proof, so the new president kept his equanimity. Being no prophet or seer, he steered according to the compass of the Constitution. To Millard Fillmore this was as the finger of God pointing the way.

Taylor and Fillmore were the last candidates of the Whig party which was to "lose its life in attempting to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law." In other words, an economic party was wrecked on an ethical question. Yet the part of the "Silver Grey" wing of the party, of which Mr. Fillmore was the standard-bearer, in postponing civil war,

until the nation was strong enough to grapple with its mightiest problem, was a noble one. Most of the preliminary work of transforming the United States from a Federal into a National Republic had been done by the Whigs before the war between the states began. The Whig party was at least national.

CHAPTER XI.

The Supremacy of the National Government.

The Mexican War being over, ships, paddle wheels, and discharged soldiers were released to new ventures. Thousands of discontented men stood ready and eager for new hazards of fortune. Polk having failed to purchase Cuba, the logical inheritance from his administration was the formation of a Cuban junta in Washington. Its open purpose was to furnish new areas of sugar land, to be worked by slave labor. A war of aggression opened boundless vistas of expansion. Fortunes were made quickly. From the new continent, won by arms and diplomacy, a thousand hands seemed to rise beckoning to daring deeds. The oceans and Asian lands lured to new explorations. New paths of commerce opened on the sea. It was Millard Fillmore's task to turn these resistless energies into honorable channels. Multiplying problems promised to tax the best talents of the statemen in the Executive Council.

Toadstools and mushrooms, the quick growth of decay, spring up more rapidly than roses or oaks. The immediate outgrowths of the Mexican war were lawless attempts to extend the area of slave labor in any and every possible direction. Two-thirds of Taylor's army were Southerners —a tremendous advantage to the unborn Confederacy, when strife between the States should break out, the one war being the sequel of the other. These men had made sacrifices for slavery, but Wilmot's proviso threatened at first to shatter their hopes.

The war and new territory ceded from Mexico cost the nation $150,000,000, three-fourths of which was to come from the North. Then, further, our country was to have a long spell of "growing pains".

There was a pathetic and comical side also, showing that most of "The bold soldier boys" had suffered in the campaigns of Venus before serving with Mars. There was, it seems, a two-fold propulsion to adventure. The London Punch, as usual, had its fun with our folks.

In a poem on *The Yankee Volunteers*, of whom the army surgeons declared that "nine-tenths of the men had enlisted on account of some female difficulty", Punch thus expressed his mind in a general review of history:

> "Thus always has it ruled,
> And when a woman smiles,
> The strong man was a child,
> The sage a noodle;
> Alcides was befooled
> And silly Samson shorn
> Long, long e'er you were born,
> Poor Yankee Doodle!"

Survivors of the Mexican War are now few and far between, yet occasionally we have pathetic reminders. The First New York Regiment returned to New York, July 27, 1848, and deposited its battle flags in the Governor's Room of the City Hall. On Nov. 17, 1907, five greyhaired veterans, with a guard of honor, transferred these same flags from the City Hall to the United States military authorities on Governor's Island, in the Chapel of the Centurion. All this is cool and calm. On the contrary, the heat of controversy in Mr. Fillmore's day reminds one of the contents and outpouring stream of a Bessemer converter.

Waiving chronological order, we glance first at Oregon, then at New Mexico (not made a state until 1913) and finally at California, which leaped first into statehood. It was over the protracted debate and long world-battles during the first part of the hot summer in 1850, until July 10th, amid siroccos of eloquence and volcanos of argument, that Mr. Fillmore had presided. In the Presidential chair, he was no stranger to the problems presented, especially since the debate continued three months longer.

Polk's administration made its escape from its "54° 40′ or fight," "by taking the advice of the Senate in advance," and the boundary line between British and Yankee America was fixed at 49°. Thus, after twenty years of discussion over a frontier line, the Oregon country was organized as a territory, August 14, 1848.

The exploration of this part of the Pacific Coast, which contains one of the grandest western water gateways into the continent, is associated with an uuusually brilliant list of names,—Juan de Fuca, the Greek pilot of the viceroy of Mexico; Bruno Heceta, the Spanish explorer; Captain Cook, the British hero; Robert Gray, the Yankee skipper, who gave the name of Columbia to the great river, thus furnishing the Government of the United States with its positive claim to "the Oregon country" George Vancouver, the Englishman of Dutch descent, who explored the waters of Puget Sound; Lewis and Clark, the overland explorers; Parker and Whitman, who, sent out by Christian people from Ithaca, N. Y., first carried the good news of God to men and took over the Rocky Mountains the first white woman and the first wheeled vehicle; Fremont, the pathfinder who followed in Whitman's trail with soldiers, and, finally, with the marine examinations by the Antarctic explorer, Charles Wilkes, and Commodore John Drake Sloat. During Fillmore's time, "the Whitman legend," unknown and unheard of, had not sprouted.

The area of the State of Washington was erected into a territory during Fillmore's administration, on the 2nd of March, 1853, two days before the New Yorker stepped out, and the man from New Hampshire stepped into the White House. Its star of statehood was first seen on the flag, November 11, 1889.

Between New Mexico and the Lone Star State, Fillmore faced a dangerous question, which might at any moment produce bloody strife. General Kearny had entered Santa

Fé in August, 1846, and New Mexico was still under military government. The treaty with Mexico had left the question of boundaries unsettled. The future states and territories of Utah and Nevada, and a large part of Arizona and Colorado, were included in this cession of the territory of New Mexico, which embraced the whole area of land below the 37th parallel and between California and Texas, and also the land northward to the Arkansas river.

Texas however, claimed the portion of land lying east of the Rio Grande and at once took active measures to make her claim good, by occupying that portion of the country which was the most populous, and out of which it was hoped to carve four large counties. In a word, as some interpreted this act, the slave power would, without losing an hour, or even a moment, extend its area.

Yet this was not a question between New Mexico and Texas but between the two nations, Mexico and the United States. On Nov. 19, 1849, by order of President Taylor, the military authorities directed the people living in their department in that part of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande to form a state constitution. This was a dangerous precedent and a vicious principle—that the army should interfere with or take upon itself the making of civil government. It was old Rough-and-Ready's short and simple way.

At once Governor P. H. Bell of Texas sent a letter to the President asking if this had been done by orders from Washington. Arriving after Taylor's decease, this missive was answered, as we shall see, by Mr. Fillmore through the Secretary of State, in a masterly document, which was none the less impressive because it was throughout conciliatory in tone.

Had New Mexico been a state, the burning question could have been settled by judicial decision. Meanwhile, the United States military forces at Santa Fé refused to

acknowledge the sovereignty or obey the orders of the Texas judiciary. President Taylor, when appealed to, declared that the settlement of the boundary question was the business of Congress and not of the President. One gentleman, styling himself Commissioner of the State of Texas, attempted to organize counties in New Mexico under the jurisdiction of Texas. He was given military notice to desist at once. Affairs looked ominous. Was there to be a collision between Texas and the United States? When trouble was most imminent, President Taylor died. His successor's first duty was to assert the national supremacy over a fraction, according to the simple axiom in mathematics, which declares the whole to be greater than its parts. Certain phases of the situation remind us of 1914, and diplomacy with Japan.

President Fillmore's special message to Congress, on August 16th, tells the story. The Texas legislature in special session had decided to maintain the claim of Texas, with her two hundred thousand people, against the United States, by force! To understand this case of Lilliput against Brobdignag, it must be remembered that the United States had been the wooing party to get Texas into the Union, and great things had been promised from Washington in the way of internal improvements, besides coast and frontier defense. After the marriage, the wooer failed to fulfil his pledges. The Texans felt that they had been wronged, and were irritated and defiant.

Millard Fillmore was an American and a Unionist. Confronted by the grave danger of nullification, he declared that, in the face of the treaty with Mexico, any movement of the Texas militia into New Mexico would be trespass and be treated as such. Treaties are part of the supreme law of the land, which every state must obey. The President said to the Governor of Texas "This supreme law of the land . . . . . is to be maintained. . . . . Neither the

Constitution nor the laws, nor my oath of office leave me any alternative or any choice in my mode of action."

The real root of the matter was this. The Texas of 1850 held to slavery in its most violent and offensive form, giving no place on its soil either to free negroes or to manumitted slaves. The desire to enlarge the area of human bondage was uppermost in the minds of her fire-eating politicians. Mr. Fillmore's course, in asserting the supremacy of the law of the land, over the kind of a Texas that existed in 1850, drew upon him from some quarters in the South, as much bitter denunciation as the Fugitive Slave Law compelled him to receive in the North. Happy for us of to-day, he could stand both.

Throwing the main burden upon Congress, Mr. Fillmore thus defined the power of the nation's chief magistrate. "The duty of the executive extends only to the execution of laws and the maintenance of treaties already in force and the protection of all the people of the United States, in all the rights which those treaties and laws guarantee."

As speedy action was necessary and delay, through reference to courts, arbitration, or a commission was, in the state of society on the border, highly dangerous, Mr. Fillmore, after a conciliatory letter to Governor Bell, recommended to Congress, as the solution of the problem, the unconditional obedience of Texas to the supreme law of the land, and, also, that a fair and liberal indemnity should be paid her by the United States.

Meanwhile, to guard against danger of a collision, the President ordered the regular army in New Mexico to be strongly reinforced. There was to be no trifling with the central Government.

This offer, to treat Texas with consideration and even generosity, was so different from the double policy of greed and neglect shown by the two former administrations, that in the land of the bowie knife a total change of temperature

took place. The traveler, ready to set out on the war path, who had girded himself against storm could not resist sunshine. The armor and cloak of defiance were thrown off and Mr. Fillmore's recommendation was cheered with delight. The President won a victory, none the less glorious because bloodless,

Congress passed an Act fixing boundaries, granting a civil government to New Mexico and to Texas a bonus of ten millions of dollars, in United States bonds bearing interest at five per-cent, on condition of her relinquishment of all land exterior to those boundaries as well as of all claims on the United States and of a territorial government in New Mexico, whose four years of military rule were now over. This was the second of the six "Compromise Measures".

The policy of President Fillmore contrasts sharply with that of President Taylor, the one illustrating civil and the other military methods.

The United States in 1850 contained twenty-four million souls and over 543,783 more square miles than under previous administrations.

CHAPTER XII.

Loyalty to the Constitution.

Few persons of to-day realize how near the American people, in 1851, were to civil war. We should recall and understand the situation, so as to see why so many statesmen believed in the Compromise Measures of that year and why Millard Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Bill, and enforced it as law.

As early as the year 1815, there was an "Underground Railroad" and regular routes, by which runaway slaves passed through the northern states and reached Canada, the land of freedom. By 1860, there was a vast network of known roads on which aiders and abettors had stations. About five hundred slaves were run off every year. In the twentieth century those who read the biographies and obituaries of those pious law-breakers, who for conscience sake aided the black refuges, can realize how dilligent such forwarding agents were.

These facts added fuel to the flame of hatred already burning in the breasts of the three hundred thousand slaveholders of the South, who directed the politics of eleven millions of peoples. Their feelings found lively expression from the state governors. Meeting in convention at Nashville, they resolved "that a secession by the joint action of the slave-holding states is the only efficient remedy for the aggravated wrongs which they now endure, and the enormous events which threaten them in the future from the usurped and now unrestricted power of the Federal Government." In Indiana and Alabama, the same spirit which was "stirring the fire with the sword," prevailed. South Carolina, it had been declared, "will interpose her own sovereignty, sooner than submit to the aggressions of the Federal Congress." The Governor of Virginia asserted

later that "any repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, or any essential modification of it, is a mutual repeal of the Union." In Mississippi, Jefferson Davis, nominated on the issue of withdrawing the state from the Union, had received 8,000 votes. It was believed that defeat of the Conservatives of the North—the men advocating compromise in preference to civil war—would mean "the death knell of the Union." Even such straws as postage reform and the incoming of Western influence were hoped for in favor of unity. Drowning men caught at these to save the Union.

Mr. Fillmore believed in the peaceable policy of emancipating and colonizing the negroes in Africa. He was elected to and accepted the vice-presidency of the American Colonization Society, June 30, 1851. In his message to Congress, December 6, 1852, he wrote out a plan, which in print covers twelve pages in the "Fillmore Papers" (Vol. I, pp. 313-325), but the members of his Cabinet, fearing that his recommendation of a scheme of gradual emancipation, including colonization and compensation, would precipitate civil war, dissuaded him from making it public.

None knew more than Fillmore himself that if he signed the Fugitive Slave Law, it would be the death blow to his personal popularity in the North, and that the great portion of his political friends would be alienated forever. Indeed, his wife told him so and made it clear to him. Nevertheless, when he saw his duty to the whole country, all thoughts of self-interest were like a feather in the scale. No Samurai of Japan was ever more loyal to conviction than this true American. Abraham Lincoln always sustained the legality and enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law.

The vote on the Fugitive Slave Bill was less than two-thirds, so that except for the President's approval, it might not have become law. When the document was laid before Mr. Fillmore, he submitted it to the Attorney General, Mr. Crittenden, who pronounced it constitutional. This

decided the President and he at once affixed his signature, September 18, 1850.

The view held in common by Clay, Webster, Fillmore, and Lincoln, was that the paramount issue before the nation was not slavery, but national growth. Webster believed that the limits of slavery were fixed by nature, which had set impassable barriers, and that gradual emancipation was certain in time. "Slavery was sure to die everywhere of its own weakness", as fast as it was to the interest of the slave and humanity that it should be extinguished. Slavery was recognized by the Constitution. Northern people thought and acted as if the Fugitive Slave Law created an obligation, whereas it had been in the Constitution, though virtually forgotten, during sixty years. Webster realized the colossal task of holding in union the North and South, and believed with all his heart and soul in Fillmore's policy of harmony and adjustment. In a word, he was consistent with his lifelong record as a patriot and statesman.

The adjournment of Congress was succeeded by a shower of slavery-justifying sermons, novels and books, while the periodicals joined to shout the anti-slavery agitation into silence. Yet on this, as on most national questions, there was a difference, according to geography. Opinion and feeling in the great maritime cities, which desired business tranquillity, and in the inland cities and rural districts, varied according to interests. The agricultural people in the North insisted on the repeal of this law but the same class in the South, long irritated by the escape of fugitives from labor, cried out that their "property" was in danger, unless the law was enforced. Social wrongs might find an anti-social remedy—secession; but this was denounced by many as absurd and impracticable. Nature and art, it was declared, bind together the North and South; most of the great rivers flow through both slave and free states and

therefore the Union was according to Providence. It was very soon evident that those in charge of the slavery propaganda had committed the very worst of blunders in strategy.

The first arrest under the new law was in New York. In less than three hours the slave was being carried southward, but the North was at once aflame. Boston was humiliated by the arrest and return of Anthony Burns, Hon. Charles N. Devins being the United States Marshal. United States troops from Fort Independence acted a *posse comitatus*. This provoked a fierce tempest of opposition. "We must trample the law under our feet", cried Wendell Phillips. Whittier kindled and swept men's emotions to flame, as of prairie fire in the wind, with his poem, "The Rendition". To feel the heat of the times, one must read again the verses printed in the *New York Tribune*, entitled "The Flaunting Lie", denouncing the American flag, by Miles O'Reilly (Charles G. Halpine) when the fugitive slave, Anthony Burns, was taken on the United States revenue cutter to Virginia. Thus it was declared the stars and stripes were prostituted to slavery's power.

A good deal of the rebel spirit of disloyalty, nullification and anarchy in the north masked itself under the name of Puritanism—a word as often and as foully abused as is that of liberty. In Faneuil Hall a resolution was carried that "Constitution or no constitution, law or no law, we will not allow a fugitive slave to be taken from the State of Massachusetts". This was supposed to be the quintessence of "Puritan" patriotism. Certain people in the north thought that defiance of the National Government was both "higher law" and loyalty to State Right. With much of the glee of incoming passengers from Europe, who hoodwink the customs inspectors, men gloated over their lawlessness. Other incidents, apart from the signature of the executive, combined to make the new law unspeakably odious. Yet Mr. Fillmore's conscience was clear. He was president of the whole country and not part of it only.

"With what face", Mr. Fillmore argued, "could we require the South to comply with their constitutional obligations, while we in the North openly refused to live up to ours by the nullification of the Fugitive Slave Law?" His action in this, he considered, as do thousands now, was one of the most unselfish and patriotic of his life.

The real effect of the Fugitive Slave Law was to prevent the extension of slavery to other parts of the continent. Not a dozen cases are known of runaway slaves being restored to their owners under this act.

The *ex post facto* provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, in which it violated the Constitution, were its worst features. These were most galling to the North, for already over twenty thousand fugitive slaves were dwelling in the free states. At once, a myriad of these fled to Canada. Terror-stricken colored members of the churches all along the northern border of the free states, sharing the fears of the self-emancipated, and liable to forcible return to the house of bondage, began a great movement toward freedom under the British flag. Their feeling was like that of the Huguenots of 1690, in New York, during Leisler's time, when possible slavery in the French galleys disturbed the dreams of the exiles.

In February, 1851, 100 members of the Baptist Church in Buffalo had crossed the Niagara River and many from the Methodist Church also. Of 114 colored Baptists in Rochester, 112 moved with their pastor over the line. In Detroit, 84 members of the Baptist church turned their backs to the alleged "land of the free." During the summer, it was thought, six thousand colored persons fled to Canada. Vigilance committees were formed among the black people to give notice of the coming of the slave captors. It was almost like the exodus of sub-patriotic white men, in 1862-63, fleeing to Canada to escape the draft.

Hitherto the national constitution had been automatic, working for itself. Now, it had to be enforced, if the Fugitive Slave Law was constitutional, by the armed strength of the nation. The organized slave power, backed by the might of the central government, was invading the area of free soil.

On the other hand, the doctrine of State Right, hitherto held as the chief tenet and most vigorously applied by slave holders, now worked for freedom. The legislatures of the northern states began to frame and pass personal liberty bills, which virtually annulled the provisions, especially those deemed unconstitutional, of the slave-catching law.

In the South the calm was almost as ominous as the quiet of preparation that precedes a great battle. From the great debate in the Senate, orators rested and "Vesuvius was capped for awhile"—but only that a Kirishima earthquake might come later.

Cotton had triumphed over tobacco, Virginia, with its soil exhausted, had seen its sceptre pass to South Carolina, and was now a breeding place for slaves to be sold further South—twelve thousand a year. Nevertheless, while slavery was rampant and earth-hungry, the Union was the idol of the American heart. The West, now becoming the dominant factor in the conflict held the balance of power. After statesmen should have failed to settle the issue, it was to send forth hosts of soldiers trained in the doctrines of Daniel Webster, to save the Union.

Something of the tension of mind above Mason and Dixon's line, somewhat of the electricity of passion that already surcharged the air, may be recalled, not only from boyhood's memories of exciting scenes in Philadelphia, when defiant crowds opposed United States marshals attempting to recapture runaway slaves, but from the events of the time and the reminiscences of friends of the President who "damned himself with his own pen."

"In 1850," wrote one in 1907, "three hundred thousand slaveholders, under the lead of John C. Calhoun, had not only got the ten millions of the South in their grip, but practically and politically the twenty millions of the North as well." Indeed, I have myself heard Southern men, bravest of the brave among Confederate veterans, say that the Civil War "emancipated eleven million white men."

There were Unionists in the South who sustained the President as a wise, far-seeing and unselfish patriot. In view of the order to the troops to support the United States Marshal, the *Augusta Chronicle* of March 4, 1851, wrote: "What a terrible blow Mr. Fillmore has inflicted upon the Southern disunionists. The Boston negro rioters were their last hope, and if they are not put down, the disunionists are doomed."

It is to be noted also that Benjamin Robbins Curtis, whom Mr. Fillmore appointed as associate justice of the Supreme Court, dissented from Judge Taney's decision in the Dred Scott case of 1857.

Professor Hosmer, son of Mr. Fillmore's Unitarian Church pastor in Buffalo, wrote in 1905: "It is sad I think, that a pure and well meaning, though not at all a great man, should have been caught in such a public crisis and that he should be pilloried as a weakling and a 'dough face,' and his good record as a patriotic, efficient public man quite forgotten, As to slavery, I believe his position to have been about that of Abraham Lincoln. The Constitution recognized slavery and required the return of fugitives. Lincoln was ready to do it. My father (Rev. Dr. Hosmer) a strong anti-slavery man but not an extreme abolitionist, talked intimately with Mr. Fillmore, about signing the Fugitive Slave Bill, who declared earnestly that he thought it the only way to avert a civil war. I have heard men say this, and I think it not unreasonable: that, as things have turned out, Mr. Fillmore really

rendered his country a vast service ; but for the signing of the Fugitive Slave Bill and other temporizing and conciliatory acts, the war would have come ten years earlier than it did. In '51 the North was not as well prepared for it as it was in '61, and probably the Union would have been destroyed."

Another declared, "But for that scratch of Fillmore's pen, the Union would have gone by the board."

When Rev. Dr. Hosmer remonstrated with his parishoner, Mr. Fillmore, for signing the Bill, the President "raised his hands in vehement appeal. He had only a choice between terrible evils—to inflict suffering which he hoped might be temporary, or to precipitate an era of bloodshed, with the destruction of the country as a probabe result. . . . . Of two imminent evils he had, as he believed, chosen the lesser". One must remember that, in 1850, the East and West had not yet been bound by the railways into mutual interest, but that the Mississippi river was the great route south or west, nor had the great emigration of Germans, Irish and other lovers of freedom, yet furnished material for the Union armies.

Mr. Sellstedt, the Buffalo artist, asked Mr. Filmore why he signed the Fugitive Slave Bill, when he must have known it would hurt his political prestige. He replied that it was by the advice of Mr. Webster, his Secretary of State. The substance of it was already in the Constitution and it was thought best to give way to the South till the territories were made states, when a constitutional amendment could be hoped for.

Mr. James Ford Rhodes, who, in 1912, received the gold medal of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, for History, says "This infamous act (The Fugitive Slave Law) had blasted the reputation of every one who had any connection with it, and he (Millard Fillmore) had suffered with the rest, yet it appeared to me unjustly."

CHAPTER XIV.

Our Policy of Non-Intervention.

Revolution sometimes precedes reformation. With Japan, between 1825 and 1853, there was first of all interior reconstruction in thought and principle ; hence in 1868, the year of opportunity, true reformation.

In 1848, while Japan was getting ready to go forward, parts of Europe retrograded. The long calm of exhaustion, following Waterloo, was broken ; but without sufficient preparation to bode good. The storm burst, only to work, for a time at least, more destruction than construction. The revolutions of 1848 were, for the most part, failures. Groaning under oppressive conditions, the people rose against their monarchs and struggled to be free, only to be forced back, into old conditions, by the armies of despots. The monarchs of Europe taking alarm at the expulsion of Louis Philippe from France, massed their forces to crush, with their illiterate hordes of armed men, the uprising of the peoples, who hungered for education, opportunity and freedom.

This meant that refugees pleading for help would be coming numerously to America. The cause they represented would command admiration. Yet woe to the man among them who would mistake sympathy with humanity for personal regard ! No more frightful disappointments await men who are indexes, and not incarnations.

In Hungary, Lajos (Louis Kossuth,) voicing his countrymen's aspirations, led in throwing off the yoke of Austria. Russian intervention blasted their patriotic hopes and Kossuth fled to Turkey and into exile. Devoting himself to the English Bible and to Shakespeare, this speaker of a Turanian language, so closely akin to the Japanese, mastered the English Tongue and on March 27, 1850, sent an address to the American people.

There was instant response, with intense and sympathetic excitement in the United States. In his message of March 28, 1849, President Taylor made reference to the situation and sent Mr. Dudley Mann to Austria and Hungary to get the real facts in the case. The Vienna Court at once made defiant response. Mr. Hülsemann the Austrian chargé d'affaires, reached Washington at the time of Taylor's decease. Delaying until Mr. Fillmore came into office, he presented the Austrian protest against our Government's action. Among the dreadful things the envoy threatened was an appeal to arms.

Such a farrago of ignorance and impudence, as this letter of Hülsemann's, was never offered in Washington, and no more vigorous reply than Fillmore's is known in American diplomacy. The erudition displayed and the appeals to history made are the Secretary's, the decision, the defiance, the scorn are the President's. The right of sending an agent of inquiry is vindicated. The American people "cannot fail to cherish always a lively interest in the fortune of nations struggling for institutions like their own." The President vindicates his predecessor's policy as consistent with the neutral policy of the United States. The cabinet of Vienna is taken "into the presence of its own predecessors." The warm reception given by the Austrian ambassador to the American envoys, in Paris, in 1777, is recalled.

To Hulsemann's threats of war, President Fillmore answered, "the Government of the United States is willing to take its chances and abide its destiny." To treat Mr. Mann, the President's agent of inquiry, as a spy, would mean instant reprisal, "to be waged to the utmost exertion of the power of the Republic military and naval." Nothing will deter the United States from displaying "at their discretion, the rights belonging to them as an independent nation, and of expressing their own opinions freely."

The rhetoric of this communication was Webster's, but the spirit and substance were Fillmore's. The President at once dispatched the U. S. S. S. Mississippi to Turkey, to secure the release of the Hungarian refugees, but Kossuth did not come directly to the United States. Piloted by a British officer of the Horse Guards, who was to entertain him, he landed in England and began making addresses. His auditors were amazed at his fluency in English. The British Liberals praised warmly President Fillmore's rebuke of Hülsemann, which hostile partisans at home dubbed a "stump speech under diplomatic guise".

In storm and in sunshine, plants and men act differently. The real test of Kossuth was to come. As against Austrian oppression, he seemed an ideal hero, a champion of the rights of man and of constitutional government. Could he remain so on our soil, he was sure to fire the Anglo-Saxon heart and touch its purse. If, however, his ideas were purely local and his aims parochial and selfish, he was foredoomed to bitter disappointment.

It was just this failure to touch the mind and heart of the thinking man, as distinct from the crowd who shouted huzzas or ate dinners in honor of a picturesque visitor, that accounts for Kossuth's inability in 1850 to move the men worth moving. "Kossuth ceased to be a hero, when he touched British soil", said the *London Times*. The brilliant orator excited sympathy, but he secured no direct aid.

Mr. Fillmore had kept his eyes upon every phase of that agitated volcano in Europe, and in 1848. Yet for him, as president, there was but one compelling precedent,—that set by Washington. When Kossuth, with his party of about twenty persons, appeared in the nation's capital, Webster asked for the Hungarian an interview. Mr. Fillmore's answer was as prompt as it was businesslike.

"If he wants simply an introduction, I will see him, but if he wants to make a speech to me, I must respectfully decline to see him."

Webster answered, "He has promised not to make a speech".

"Very well, then", said the President, "I will see him".

Kossuth, with a glittering retinue, came the next day, December 31 to the White House. The interview was strictly private. Reporters and the Hungarian suite were excluded. Instantly Kossuth began a lengthy speech. When he had finished, Mr. Fillmore said that he "most decidedly could not, and would not, interfere in the affairs of a foreign nation."

A dinner was given at the Executive Mansion, at which there were thirty-two guests. There were present the Cabinet secretaries and their wives, three ladies of the White House, members of the Senate and House committees, the presiding officer acting as Vice-president and Speaker of the House, with Kossuth and his suite in brilliant military uniforms.

In the Senate the Hungarian was received with the same ceremonies as were held in welcome of Lafayette. Cass, Foote, and Seward, whose speeches make strange reading to-day, lost their heads, seeing in Kossuth a new Washington. Yet while banquets were given in the Hungarian's favor, there were anti-Kossuth dinners, also. Crittenden advised his hearers to stand in the old road "that every president, from Washington to Fillmore travelled," Clay's dying words showed that he believed that there was "no hope for republicanism yet in Europe".

The Chevalier Hülsemann lost both his temper and his manners. He sent a note of protest against the reception of Kossuth, and this, not to the Secretary of State, but to the President. At once the Austrian was notified that he could withdraw from Washington within twenty-four hours, which he did. Retiring from his post, he left his duties in charge of Mr. August Belmont, of New York. It was a case of good riddance.

The Hungarian had misinterpreted the motives and purpose of our Government in inviting him to the United States. Mr. Fillmore had secured the release of Kossuth and the national frigate, Mississippi, had been sent to Turkey to bring him to America. All this was done in the expectation that the liberated man would settle down quietly in his American asylum. It was not imagined that the Hungarian would make the United States the basis of agitation against Austria.

Some aspirants to the presidency, ready to use every public movement as motor or vehicle, hoped to rise on the wave of Kossuthism to fame and power. One New York paper denominated Kossuth "a trump card skillfully played, which may win the White House." Many ladies, captivated with the Hungarian's eloquence, kissed him. When he lectured in Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, Mr. Beecher carried some rusty cannon balls, alleged to be from Bunker Hill, into the pulpit. Other ministers went wild. A Bible was given him and Protestant hopes were high. During the "Kossuth mania," besides some dollars, a number of American relics, such as locks of hair of Washington and Jefferson were received by the patriot, but he and his suite hungered for more solid tokens of approval. Europeans saw that, whether it was Jenny Lind, or Kossuth, as indicators of the winds of favor or neglect, the American people furnished a very inflammable body.

Was Kossuth a Lafayette or a Genet? Four hundred diners sat down in New York to his honor. Webster's cool letter was hissed. The New York Democratic Central Committee declared that "100,000 armed men will rally around the American standard to be unfurled on the field, when the issue between freedom and despotism is to be decided." Many delegations waited on Kossuth and he replied adroitly to each one. It was astonishing how American air stimulated good appetite. The average native was quite ready

to eat high-priced dinners on behalf of down-trodden Europe, but he had no real sentiment in favor of intervention, nor were the "sinews of war" forthcoming. Of the $160,000 raised in the United States, $130,000 were spent on banquets and personal expenses, and only $30,000 for muskets. Instead of floating $1,000,000 worth of bonds of the Hungarian republic, the visitors scarcely got enough to keep a regiment in the field two months.

Kossuth approved highly of the *coup d'etat* of Napoleon III. in December 2, 1851, but he had no word of commendation of the free soil or abolition movement. In the South, he found that people were not warm in his cause. To the slave holders, the logic in the case was as clear as when the Dutch Beggars of the Sea were fighting against Philip II. of Spain. Queen Elizabeth Tudor could not approve of people rebelling against their princes, though she might permit her merchants to lend them money to the amount of £100,000 at high rates of interest. Men holding blacks in bondage and wishing to extend slave territory reasoned that the more freedom in the world the less chance for slavery. No, they would not cheer Kossuth.

Mr. Fillmore was somewhat puzzled at Kossuth's endorsement of Napoleon III, in turning the French Republic into an empire. On the 29th of May previous, in welcoming the new minister of France, M. de Sartiges, the President had said "Our friendship with France originated with our struggle for a national existence and was cemented by the mingling of the blood of our Revolutionary sires with that of their allies, the heroes of France. . . . . The American people hailed with unaffected delight your recent advent among the nations of the earth as a sister republic. . . . I again welcome you to our shores as the diplomatic agent of the leading republic of Europe."

A few months later, not with enthusiasm, but in due routine of politeness, the President of the United States

received the next envoy from France, but this time from a mushroom Empire, with a despot at the head of it. The close resemblance between the French Empire and a South American republic ruled by a dictator seemed to irreverent Americans comical in the extreme. Later on, France nobly redeemed herself.

By the middle of January, "Kossuthism" was over, and the wise handling of the matter by the President was manifest to all. Our peaceful armada, under Perry, was left free to sail to Japan and help to begin the making of an Asian nation holding Anglo-Saxon ideals.

Kossuth's visit fixed, it did not shake, the non-intervention policy of the United States. President Fillmore disappointed alike the war contractors and unscrupulous partisans. A thousand newspapers declared for Kossuth, but when he criticized the American Government, his journeys, instead of being like those of an Emperor, fell off in importance. With steady skill, Fillmore foiled the wild rage of partisans who strove to embroil the United States in war with foreign powers. He clung to wisest tradition and to saving precedent, thus reinforcing the determination of the American people neither to enter into "entangling alliances", nor to go to war with one country on behalf of another.

Only once, perhaps, does it appear that our Government failed in maintaining, or at least in properly manifesting its approval of a policy as old as the nation itself. When in 1900, Rear-Admiral Louis Kempff, of the United States Navy, during the Boxer uprising, refused to violate our peace with China and join with the allies in making war on China, by the utterly unnecessary bombardment of the Taku forts, he received no word of approval or commendation from Washington. President and Congress were silent, while the yellow press misrepresented, distorted and denounced. To this day, though later, instant upon the

news received, the telegraph was made hot to send congratulations upon the slaughter of Filipino men, women and children by our soldiers, this gallant naval officer Admiral Kempff has received no public justification. He is not alone in American history.

Fillmore's unswerving action in the case of Hungary made later deliverances, from pro-Fenianism, pro-Armenianiam, pro-Boer republicanism and pro-Mexicanism, quite easy. In 1906, Maxim Gorky's appeals for revolutionary Russia fell flat. We best help liberty throughout the world by having a strong Government, able to make its voice, advice, remonstrance, or warning heard in the councils of the governments of Europe and the nations of the world.

In his own country Kossuth, who died in 1894, has been nobly honored and commemorated. His son who walked in his fathers' footsteps, as champion of Hungary, lived to win like honors in life until his death in 1914.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Yankee in Europe.

The Fillmore era was one of almost boundless material prosperity. It was also the time when "This glorious Yankee nation. . . . the greatest and the best"—as we boys used to sing in "the fifties,"—when our nation made itself known in new fashion to Europe and Asia. Under Fillmore's administration, the American people gave two notable displays of their national products and manufactures, one in England and one in Japan. Of these industrial expositions, at opposite ends of the earth, after "A cycle of Cathay"—that is, sixty years, we may well ask, which was the more influential?

Under the glass and iron dome of the Crystal Palace in London, Yankee notions of all sorts were introduced to Europe and the world. On the strand at Yokohama, Americans brought to the Japanese their implements and devices as object lessons in Western civilization. This was a thousand years after that first exhibition in Japan of Greek, Persian, Hindoo, Korean and Chinese arts at Nara —and in a building erected A.D. 784 and still standing, the oldest wooden edifice in the world—which placed their island country at the head of all schools of art in Asia. In 1854, the Japanese saw the first formal display of modern industries and inventions, by the seashore of a region which, in Nara days, was in their uncivilized "far East."

The peoples of America and Great Britain were making mighty progress in that fine art of mutual understanding, which, in the light of the Anglo-American Exposition in London in 1914, and the peace-centennial is still in continuance. At the banquet of the New England Society in New York, which is powerful in nourishing international friendship, on December 1, 1850, Sir Henry Bulwer "outshone even American eloquence on American topics."

To the Crystal Palace World's Fair, which was the invention or discovery of H. R. H. Prince Albert, the United States sent a thousand tons of products of American industry, more particularly to get " reciprocity of valuable suggestions." The exhibits were loaded on the frigate St. Lawrence.

Millard Fillmore was chairman, and on the committee of twenty, besides Levi Woodbury, were Joseph Force, Joseph Henry, J. J. Greenough, Charles Wilkes, W. R. Johnson, Jefferson Davis, A. D. Bache, and M. F. Maury. The central authorities sent out circulars. The services of the commissioners were gratuitious. The Government refused to pay them anything, or to free them of debt if involved. The list of the five hundred exhibitors covers three pages of the New York Herald of Feb. 13th. To act as a freighter, all except the spar-deck guns of the warship had been taken taken out. Her lieutenants were George H. Preble, C. H. Boggs, and one other midshipman, Henry Erben, all of whom we have since known as admirals. One block of zinc from the New Jersey Export and Mining Co. weighed 16,400 pounds.

After cargo had been unloaded, the St. Lawrence was ordered to take on the remains of Commodore Paul Jones, "the first republican naval officer under General Washington", and then supposed to have been discovered. These, however, were found in Paris by General Horace Porter, over fifty years later, and early in the twentieth century were deposited at Annapolis, receiving permanent repose under a glorious monument in January, 1913.

The London jokesmiths were busy. Punch had a good field for the funmakers in the miscellaneous character of the Yankee notions and "institutions" visible in the Crystal Palaces. Indeed, were our people of the twentieth century, able to see that collection of curiosities reproduced, they could not look without smiling on that exhibition of their fathers in 1851.

The Americans, of expansive mind had pre-empted a larger space in the Exposition plan they were able to fill, and sarcastic comment was made on the vast emptiness in the Crystal Palace theoretically covered by the Stars and Stripes, but not occupied. A spirit of desolation and barrenness seemed to brood over the unfilled area. As visitors were flocking in from abroad, "why not utilize the space, which was not one-fourth used, as lodging places?" asked the funny men of the quill. Punch said, "The United States in the Exhibition are mainly represented by a very full grown eagle. In stretch of pinion it assuredly licks any live specimen. The gigantic bird soars over next to nothing. Why not have here some treasures of America, *e. g.* some choice specimens of slaves?"

When on August 22, the yacht America beat the British racing boat in the Channel, and won the "Cup of the Nations," Punch talked gleefully about trans-Atlantic improvement, and of "Yankee Doodle at Cowes." In the picture, Punch asks of crying John Bull "Why, Johnny what's the matter?" Whereat, John Bull answers "If you please, sir, there is a nasty, ugly American been beating me."

Great rollers of wit and sarcasm beat against the statute of "the Greek Slave," representing a beautiful young woman exposed in her nudity in the open market, by Hiram Powers—that pioneer and educative bit of plastic art which marked the history of American taste in fine arts, and soon, by sinking into oblivion, to be a tide mark. By the English critics of 1852, black skin and white marble were contrasted. Americans, unable to see themselves as others see them, were blind to the greater anomaly of fettered Pompey and Dinah, in the glorious free republic, where four millions of Americans were in slavery. Punch said, "We have the Greek Captive in dead stone, why not the Virginian slave in living ebony?" A witty poem of "Sambo to the Greek

Slave," as the black man looked upon the Carrara marble, ran :

> "De niggah free, de minit he touch de English soil
> Him gentleman of colah' now, and not a slave no mo'."

"The Buffalo Sockdolger" was referred to as proving that France is great and England weak.

Fun or no fun, the "hearts of oak" in freedom-loving England were with us. Punch had a noble poem entitled "Lines to Brother Jonathan" :

> "In soldier-ridden Christendom the sceptre is the sword,
> The statutes of the nations from the cannon's mouth are roared.
> They hate us, Brother Jonathan, those tyrants they detest,
> The island sons of liberty and freedom of the West.
> They would bend our stiff necks to priestcraft's yoke.
> Stand with me, Brother Jonathan, if ever need should be."

Punch said further, "As we cannot have a black baby show, let us have a black or two stand in manacles, as 'American manufactures' protected by the American eagle." Underneath was a picture illustrating the text and giving examples of American products and of slave breeding farms, where twelve thousand black folks were reared annually to be sold farther south in the cotton belt.

This was the day of American literary piracy, when the cheap re-printers, who paid the British author nothing, were making fortunes that are enjoyed to this day. Punch in 1852, with a pun on William Penn's name, and his covenant with the Indians, under the old tree at Shackamaxon, wrote and pictured "The New Penn Treaty with the Americans," urging that "the scissors be buried." In the catalogue of the curiosities found inside "the American sea serpent," rarest and most wonderful of all, was the check book used by one American publisher for British authors.

On the whole, this gathering at the Court of Nations was a success. The Times said, "The World's Exhibition of 1851 opened the eyes of the British public to the superiority

in some things of other nations. Common sense would come to the rescue and there would be improvement in English ways."

As for the Americans, they took many hints, learned wisdom, and were spurred on by ambition to beat the British in peaceful rivalry. Circulars were soon out for an exhibit of the industry of all nations to be held in New York, which would make up for American defects in the exhibition at London. A second "Crystal Palace" was erected in New York, on the ground between 40th and 42nd streets, on Sixth Avenue, now Bryant Park, and opened July 14th, 1853. Instead of an area of twenty acres, as did the original in Hyde Park, the new structure covered less than five. Precautions against fire, in what Townsend Harris, in Japan, called "dear, old inflammable New York", were not scientific, and shortly afterward, this Manhattan palace of iron and glass melted in the flames.

Yet the new spirit of sympathy with the whole world had been awakened in the American heart, and the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, the Pan-American at Buffalo, the White City at Chicago the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition at St. Louis and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco, in 1915, tell eloqdently the westward story of growth from the good seed planted by Prince Albert and watered by President Fillmore.

CHAPTER XV.

Our Flag In Every Sea.

In 1914, scarcely a score of ships in foreign commerce sailed under the American flag. In 1850, they were seen in every sea. The stars and stripes were not then as later, a curiosity abroad.

With a large navy and an army of volunteers, set free after the Mexican War, and with nearly two million square miles of new territory open to American enterprise, President Fillmore's work was to give wise outlets to the nation's resistless energies. Long pent up between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic and living, even in 1850, for the most part east of the Mississippi, the Pacific Coast was to our American people, an "unoccupied corner of the world." Only to a few missionaries and traders had this region, until 1849, any vital association with American life.

Asia was still the continent of mystery. "The Old World", in common speech, meant Europe. So long facing ancestral lands, and dependent upon them for supplies and trade, Americans, except a few prophetic souls, thought only of the Atlantic Ocean, as the object of their naval activities.

The Pacific slope was a colossal gift to the imagination. Oregon and California opened new vistas, furnished new frontiers, and gave us an outlook upon Asia. Commerce, expanding suddenly and wonderfully, called for a fresh outburst of national energy. At the trumpet calls, the American people faced about.

At peace with the world, our large navy was at once divided and detailed to grapple with the nobler enterprises of peace. Nine surveying expeditions, eight in the Atlantic and one in the Pacific, were planned. One hundred and eighty thousand men in nearly three million tons of ship-

ping—numbers then greater than those of any nation in the world—were in 1850 massed under the stars and stripes.

This was the golden age of American commerce and naval science. In our era af submarine cables, overland wires and wireless communication, less is left to the discretion of naval officers abroad, for the Government at Washington can in most cases easily communicate with its servants on the national ships. In Fillmore's day, much had to be entrusted to the judgment of the commanders selected for the varied tasks. Many were the independent actions of our captains in matters diplomatic and military in those days. It was of vital importance, that in every case the right man should be placed on the right deck.

With characteristic energy, Secretary Graham, a man of enterprise and initiative, rose to the occasion. With unprecedented naval resources at his command, he improved his splendid opportunities. He chose Captain Matthew Calbraith Perry then in the full momentum of his professional career, for the Japan Expedition. Perry was one of the foremost men of intellect and science in the navy. In knowledge of men and of nations, in mastery of professional details, in diplomatic ingenuity, in power of adaptation, Perry had no superior in the Uniled States naval service, then so rich in striking personalities. Both war steamers and guns firing shell were at this time comparatively novel. Though many naval officers felt nervous when over a boiler, Perry had long before made himself at home with both steam and bombs.

Not so captivating to the popular imagination, but none the less prophetic of American mastery of ship architecture, of floating fortresses and of ocean problems, were the naval inventions and adaptations during the Fillmore administration, when progress was made with men as well as with ships. The Japan Expedition under Perry, the first American fleet of war-ships ever sent abroad—using the

term fleet as meaning at least twelve vessels—went round the world without either flogging, or, in its later course, at least, the grog ration. This abolition of the twin relics of barbarism, the cat and the tot, grew out of the advance made in morals and humanity and the enlarged naval experience gained during the Mexican War.

Flogging had been introduced into the American navy in 1799, when the "cat of nine tails"—"no other cat being allowed"—was made the legal instrument of punishment. During the fierce debate of 1850, in Congress, over the abolition of external and internal stimulants—flogging and the grog ration—opposition was especially strong in the Senate. Despite Commodore Stockton's powerful plea against the disuse of the whip, the vote was carried and the use of at least two forms of discipline, so liable to abuse, ceased in the naval service. This example was followed, next year, in the army. Perry was one of the first temperance reformers in the Navy. While lieutenant, in a letter to the Navy Department dated January 25th, 1824, he had endeavored to stop the grog ration for minors, for liquor was in those early days served to boys as well as to men.

All other events, the attempted survey of the Isthmus of Panama, the Franklin Relief Expedition, the exploration of the Jordan valley, of Bering's Strait, and of the Amazon river from source to sea, and the thrilling incidents of Arctic and Tropical research inaugurated and, for the most part, carried out during Fillmore's administration, paled before the success of Perry's Japan Expedition. This event affected the whole world's welfare and determined American policy on the Pacific and in Asia. It affected the world at large more than any American event since the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

The whale was our first pilot to Japan. This "economic animal" was hunted for its blubber from the Atlantic into the Pacific and beyond Bering's Strait, within the Arctic

ocean, by hundreds of American sailors. Through storm and shipwreck, they found themselves more or less unwilling guests in Japan. This Asian Euxine, self-called "the Hospitable Country," was then a byword among sea-farers and nigh unto cursing for its inhospitality. In 1850, twenty millions of dollars were invested in the New Bedford whaling industry. The assembling, departure and return of the whaling fleet made some of the most impressive sights in Yankee land.

The irritation of the American Nimrods of the sea kept increasing, because their base of supply and of action were so far apart. Compelled to remain to refit in Hawaiian ports, so distant from their field of activities, their anger flamed at the inhospitality of the forbidden land.

In 1851, no fewer than one hundred and fifty-one American whalers lay in Hawaiian ports, far from their cruising grounds, because they could obtain no shelter in the ports of Japan. The U. S. Brig Preble arrived in New York, after a long cruise of four years, with American shipwrecked sailors, who had been kept seventeen months in "cages" though this was the native method of transporting and holding all incarcerated persons. "No prison strong enough to hold them" was the Japanese opinion of these waifs—many of them mutineers from their own officers. Some of these seamen were very lively and mischievous.

Highly colored versions of Commodore Glyn's "rescue" of these men, after driving his ten-gun brig past "batteries of sixty guns on the heights" and of his dramatic appearance, directly before the city of Nagasaki, were printed in the newspapers. When examined in the light of the easily accessible and printed records of the Navy Department, the whole affair, without reflecting the slightest discredit on a gallant officer, is a powerful argument for peace by arbitration. As a precedent for aggressive war, or even bluster, the Nagasaki incident is beneath contempt. Not the brave

officer's own report but the newspapers stories of Glyn's "overawing" the Japanese local governor, of his demand for the release of the imprisoned sailors, of his alleged coercion of the Japanese, and of his "setting a mark for Perry and Dewey", seems rather like stage thunder, or a cheap photo-play, if the part of Mr. Levyssohn, the benevolent Dutch agent at Nagasaki, is left out.

As a peacemaker between Japanese and Americans, this Dutch gentleman, in a quiet way, helped both to see eye to eye, satisfying honor and quickly settling a point at issue between civilized men. Nevertheless as a garbled account, "cooked up" for the newspapers, it serves admirably to show what mean fuel may serve to get up a devastating war-fire. Mr. Levyssohn, returning to Holland during Mr. Fillmore's administration, met the American minister at the Hague and published a little book (Bladen over Japan) which was read in Japan by the native interpreters in Perry's fleet. In the long list of mediators between Japan and English-speaking people, from Will Adams to Guido Verbeck, J. C. Hepburn, J. H. DeForest, William Taft, and Daniel Crosby Greene, Levyssohn deserves most honorable mention.

CHAPTER XVI.

Fillmore's Expedition to Japan.

Millard Fillmore, the real and executive author of the Japan Expedition of 1852, liberated a great stored-up force in Asia, for the good of the world. He helped to bring before the American people a social and racial problem, that is destined to shake the world. The "white man" must now descend from his self-exalted throne to consider the claims of the intellectual equality of Asiatic men of color. The American, spoiled by the experience of red and black men—the conquered and enslaved—has, very naturally, considered the people of Asia inferior, as a matter of course. Now, he is compelled by the men from the Mother-continent to think, study, read history and acquaint himself with much of which he is ignorant. Neither bluster nor conceit can occult the facts.

Happily between the so-called Occident, which is our Modern East, and the Orient, which is our contemporaneous West, it has pleased Providence to place the United States, one of the greatest crucibles and melting pots known in history, and Japan—the epitome and deposit of all Asia and the welcomer of things Occidental—between the ancestral lands of Europe and the older seats of civilization in Asia. The problem set before both countries is the union and reconciliation of the East and the West, the Old and the New, and for this work, both nations are admirably fitted. The American people is a composite of many races. The Japanese are made up of four of the strong races of history, Aryan, Semitic, Malay and Tartar.

It is a common superstition, growing out of the colossal conceit of the average American, that Commodore Perry virtually created the New Japan. The scholar knows that the naval officer simply touched the electric button that set the interior machinery going.

All American or other attempts to unbar the gates of hermit Japan would have been in vain, except for the previous native intellectual preparation of a century or more. The new mind, created within, insured the American Commodore's success far more than his ships, cannon, or personal diplomacy.

This century-old internal movement of philosophy, history and scholarship, to say nothing of the political martyrdom of far-seeing spirits, called "Dutch students", looked to the exaltation of Japan to her true place of equality among civilized nations. These were definitely committed to the policy of foreign intercourse, and this party was Perry's true ally. Vulgar American conceit will probably long ascribe Japan's awakening wholly to the apparition of the American ships; but, all research shows that Japan was reformed by native more than by foreign genius. That Perry acted with consummate skill and address, cannot be doubted, even as we have already told in his biography, and in our writings of forty years.*

Secretary William Graham was the first person in an official position, who, if authorized to do anything in promotion of the Japan enterprise, was able to act. In his report, which the President transmitted with his message to Congress, in December 1850, Graham called the attention of the Government to the advantages of opening Japan. Mr. Fillmore warmly seconded the proposal and Japan received mention, for the first time, in a presidential document. In Mr. Fillmore's third annual message, Dec. 6, 1852, a handsome tribute is paid to the friendly assistance of the Dutch King William II, who in 1845, had

*The Mikado's Empire, 1876–1912; Japan: in History, Folk-lore and Art, 1898; Matthew Calbraith Perry, Boston, 1887; The Japanese Nation in Evolution, New York, 1907; and the biographies of the four great American teachers, Verbeck, Brown, Williams, Hepburn, who first mastered the Japanese language made the apparatus of study, and gave a total service to Japan (1859–1911) of over 150 years.

earnestly advised the Shogun in Yedo, to open Japan's doors peacefully to the Americans. Millard Fillmore was thus in advance of the average American citizen and magistrate of his day, with whom generosity in awarding credit to Europeans was not conspicuous. The President's orders to Perry meant firmness without concealment of the true objects,—rescue, fuel, commerce, the enrichment of California and America, and the future prosperity and peaceful opening of an Asiatic state.

This proposal to invite an Oriental Empire to enter into the world's market place, excited great attention in Europe. Great Britain had led hitherto in playing the role of Ali Baba. The sight of a young nation, of like speech and ideas, attempting to imitate and even surpass the pioneer, awakened the keenest interest of the London journals. Punch and his corps of rhymesmiths and the makers of jokes in prose and verse, kept themselves busy in diffusing good humor. They were somewhat less flippant, and fully as intelligent, in treating the whole subject as were most of the American newspapers of 1852.

Kossuth and Japan were rival subjects for editorial pens. Some newspapers clamored that our "fleet" should go to Austria, instead of Japan. With the exception however, of one or two of Kossuth's "penny organs," the expedition to the Orient was approved. One Manhattan literary volcano threw out this literary scoria: "In these days nothing but bombshells and bayonets will reclaim the pagans of Japan. Let the gallant Commodore hurry up the good work. Brethren let us pray. . . . Our aggressions and conquests of the Pacific coast are beginning. Sooner or later these besotted Oriental nations must come out from their barbarous seclusion and wheel into the ranks of civilization. . . Like the English in India, let us take the Pacific Islands, group by group, advance to Japan and meet in Shanghai. The Anglo-Saxons are

masters of the world." In this rhetoric, the same deviltry that still animates alike the pirate, the burglar, and some editors, was as rampant then as now.

The novelty of conditions, following on the heels of the deceitful prosperity induced by successful war, intoxicated journalists. With fifteen hundred weekly newspapers and twenty thousand miles of electric wires, our people had no lack of excitement. "What would it be," said one, "to hear of a great American naval victory off the coast of Japan ten days before election!" It is both amusing and tragic to see how wars are gotten up by interested parties and then covered with the American flag.

English newspapers spoke of "the mysterious naval expedition to the Asiatic seas." "The great Atlantic Republic was about to come into collision with the Empire of Japan." The story of the greatly exaggerated "Amboyna massacre," by Dutch and Japanese, in the seventeenth century, which had served Charles Stuart and his perfidious ministers and the piratical Duke of York, in 1664, to manufacture public opinion among Englishmen and Yankees, for the conquest of New Netherland was revived. Now, made to do duty again, it served for more or less intelligent British editorial comment.

English editors recalled that "Japanese were once employed as sepoys (sic) in peninsular Asia." Japan was described as having an area of 266,000 square miles and a population of 30,000,000 souls—both statements being exaggerations. Arm-chair strategists warned the Commodore that the Japanese were assailable by their coasts alone. There were no great rivers in Japan, by which invaders could penetrate the country. "The redress squadron" must not quit its wooden walls, behind which the Americans were impregnable. To advance inward would mean inevitable perdition.

Funniest of all was Punch's poem, on "The American

Crusaders", expressed in what was supposed to be the American-English language.

"We histes the stars and stripes
To go agin Japan,
All to protect our mariners
The gallant Perry sails,
Our free enlightened citizens
A-cruisin' arter whales
Who being tossed upon their shores
By stormy winds and seas,
Is wuss than niggers used by them
Tarnation Japanese.

We shant sing out to pattern saints
Nor gals, afore we fights,
Like when they charged the Saracens,
Did them benighted knights,
But "Exports to the resky, ho"
And "Imports" we will cry,
And pitch the shell or draw the bead
Upon the enemy.

We'll teach them unsocial coons
Exclusiveness to drop,
And stick the hand of welcome out
And open wide their shop;
And fust I hope we shant be forced
To whip 'em into fits,
And chew the savage loafers right
Up into little bits."

The day of seventy-four gun-ships, when the efficacy of a fleet depended upon the number of its holes in the hull had passed; but, as Punch said, "Perry must open the Japanese ports, even if he had to open his own." The United States "were now to enact the same gunpowder drama that England had played in China", etc., etc.

From our side, the causes of the Japan expedition were the whale, coal, California, the return of native waifs, the rescue of American sailors, commerce, Christianity, and the

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desire to spread American ideas. Back of these were the John Quincy Adams resolution of 1819, the Monroe Doctrine, and the eloquence of William H. Seward. More than all else were the prayers of Christian people begun long before.

On the Japanese side, were the revival of learning, the native scholars in the Dutch language, the schools of unorthodox and especially the Oyoméi philosophy, critical history, with other interior preparations, conscious or unconscious. Thanks to the self-exiled teacher, Ronald McDonald, who began at Nagasaki, in 1846, to teach English, a score of Japanese could read and talk English, before Americans or British could talk, or peruse a book in Japanese. No English-speaking person, in 1853, could read a Japanese book of the first class. Dr. Samuel Wells Williams, of Canton, China, from seawaifs and fisherman had learned a little of the Nippon colloquial and could understand Chinese texts and a few easy printed Japanese books.

At Kurihama, where now the gold-lettered granite memorial shaft, inscribed by Ito and subscribed to by Multsuhito the Great, rises in Perry Park, our Commodore had a discussion about morals with Professor Hayashi of Yedo, but the best points in the treaty of Yokohama, in 1853, were suggested by the missionary, Dr. S. Wells Williams. Perry won, only in ethical and social matters. The subject of American trade or residence in the Mikado's Empire was not even mentioned. This latter triumph in diplomacy was not gained, until a few years later by the New York merchant, Townsend Harris. Building on Perry's precedents, but without a gun, a ship, or a man, but telling always the truth, he routed the liars in the pay of a rotten system of deceit, and won all his points, as has been shown in his biography. Not, however, until 1868, did the treaties bear the signature of the Mikado, or true emperor.

The political situations of the Americans and the Japanese, in 1850, when compared, show striking analogies. Divided Japan, under the feudal régime was relatively much like the contemporaneous American Union, which in one-half, the South, held to a sort of belated feudalism, and on the whole was a federal, but hardly a national, republic. In both countries, the old order was about to pass away, and a new world of ideas and institutions—as yet discerned only by men of prophetic vision—was dawning. To those who could see the new day coming, the morning sky was already flaming. Both nations were on the eve of a tremendous upheaval, which was to alter the map of the world. In the American Union were twenty-five millions of freemen and three millions of slaves. Of Japan's twenty-eight millions, twenty-four millions were semi-serfs, and one million were outcasts. The "balance of power" in America, until California obtained statehood, was between free and slave states. In Japan, it was between the Mikado and Shogun. In the United States, the notions of ten million living in semi-feudalism, on slave land, were medieval. A man in the sectional republic was less an American, than a Mississippian or a Vermonter. The central Government was weak. The idea of loyalty to his State, and not to the Nation, dominated the mind of the Southerner. So, also, in Japan, it was the clan or province, not the Empire. A native was a Satsuma man, or an Aidzu retainer, rather than a Japanese. Localism and sectionalism were the ruling ideas in both countries. In the Japanese archipelago the South was progressive, the North conservative, even to reaction.

In both lands, good men must suffer and fall with the vicious systems whose destruction was to open new vistas to white, black, and brown humanity. A military despotism in Yedo and rival clans in the sections dominated the land, but an approaching economic struggle, not essentially

different from that between the industrial North and the agricultural South, in America, was for Japan "the impending crisis". Steadily the central government in Yedo was weakening and the local powers were increasing. In the civil wars, of 1861 and 1868, following long controversies, local ties often bound a man, even against his conscience, to take up arms with his fellow clansmen or neighbors, against the central Government.

Both nations, after a bloody civil war, were to have "a new birth of freedom"; for in neither country, now, does slavery, serfage, or pariahism exist. With the names of Lincoln and of Mutsuhito, in the same list of emancipators, both nations are now in the van of freedom and equally eager for the advance of civilization. In the hall of fame, wherein shine the names of those who have helped to unite the Orient and the Occident, that of Millard Fillmore holds a shining place.

In December, 1873, the ex-President, addressing the Buffalo Historical Society, on the Japan Expedition of 1853, declared that the facts concerning shipwrecked American sailors on the coasts of Japan were presented in the Cabinet meeting. "All the resolutions adopted were in full Cabinet council, in which there was no difference of opinion but the fullest accord". Fillmore's orders were peremptory to Commodore Perry, to use no violence unless he were attacked. He despatched sufficient force, so that the show of power might be deemed a persuader in procuring a treaty. He fully justified his order to Perry commanding him to defend himself against violence. The Commodore was cautioned against doing anything offensive, but he was fully authorized, in the event of being attacked by the Japanese—as contrasted with the peremptory orders of non-resistance, given to Commodore Biddle—to use the power of the Government in repelling hostilities and to satisfy the jealous islanders that they were dealing with a Power competent and willing to protect its own.

In a word, the Japanese did not seek us. We sought them, and, almost by main force, dragged them out of their seclusion, in order to win their trade and enrich California and the United States. After we had taken their gold out of the country, and as soon as we gained their secrets, of tea, silk, ceramics, and what not, we built up tariffs against them. Then, when they had shown themselves not "yellow monkeys", or anthropological curiosities, but real men, bred in a civilization worthy of all respect and able to humble Russia, American sentiment changed. The unintelligent mob, the selfish manufacturer and land owner and the labor unions that raise the shout "America for Americans"—in foreign accents—are quite ready even to violate treaties, in order to keep out these temperate and industrious people. Even in certain quarters where commercial varieties of Christianity rule, these people are quite approved, when reckoned as objects of trade, or as missionary converts, but rejected when practical brotherhood is proposed.

It is well to recall, in this twentieth century, the kindly and sincere words of our President Millard Fillmore to "His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan," in 1852.

"Great and good friend. . . I entertain the kindest feelings towards your majesty's person and government, and . . . I have no other object in sending . . . to Japan, but to propose to your imperial majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other. . . May the Almighty have your imperial majesty in His great and holy keeping."

These are Fillmore's own words, given in all sincerity and truth. In their spirit, Perry, Harris, Seward, Lincoln and the great army of teachers, advisers and helpers in government service in Japan and the servants of the Japanese, for Christ's sake, the missionaries, from 1859 to the present hour, have lived and acted. Will Americans reverse this noble record? Shall they not rather live up to the spirit of their first motives and of the early treaties?

CHAPTER XVII.

The Monroe Doctrine and the Filibusters.

No doctrine is safe from caricature at the hands of its interpreters, or from distortion in the lives of its exemplars. Even divine truth becomes impish folly in the hands of men. Man and the ape are scarcely wider apart than are reality and its counterfeits. In American history the Monre Doctrine, created when Britain and America struck hands together for freedom, grandly conceived, gloriously illustrated, destined in the end, doubtless, to win the respect and even the praise of humanity, has suffered in this way. More than once the filibuster, the unscrupulous money-maker, or the disguised robber, who calls himself a colonist, has made it the world's laughing stock.

In Fillmore's day the Monroe Doctrine was made yoke-fellow with both "manifest destiny" and the fanaticism of slavery propagation. The resultant was a three-fold storm. The enormous territory wrested from Mexico bloated the pride of those who had provoked that war for an avowed purpose. Misgovernment in Cuba and the West Indian states offered a field of enterprise alluring to the filibuster, as tempting as it was boundless.

The cool-headed and calculating men, ready to exploit any rich land for the sake of its wealth, stayed at home, making tools of others, who had puritanical notions of "God-given rights to white men" and the "divine service" of extending black slavery. The ancient trade of Cortez and Pizarro, and of the British buccaneers, Morgan and James, Duke of York, was continued, in true succession, in sub-tropical America, by such men as Quitman, Lopez and Walker. At those who carried on their activities during Fillmore's administration, we shall glance.

Cuba was the coveted object of American greed. In the tempestuous oratory of this era, the conquests of Moses, Joshua, Saul and David were cited as inspiring examples of the successful marauder.

The triumph, in Texas, of a raid of filibusters, disguised under the name of colonists, gave the great precedent of success. Then in 1840-1848, all parties agreeing, Mexico was invaded and despoiled. The idea underlying this war of rapine became a breeding ground for filibustering expeditions. These were notably numerous from 1850 to 1861.

Of about the same area, each with an amazingly fertile soil, and in nearly the same latitude, though almost antipodal on the earth's surface, and both under foreign masters, Cuba and Java afforded a striking contrast. Under enlightened rulers, just laws, and wise economical measures, over thirty millions of Javanese live in peaceful content and thriving prosperity. In Cuba, under governors, who were but belated conquestadors, and a rule of injustice, cruelty, torture and bloodshed, with much of the land lying waste, scarcely two million human beings were able to exist. The apostles of slavery in the United States, who wished to extend the area of what was then preached as a divine "institution," had therefore a showy and plausible pretext. With this they disguised other and more selfish motives, when resolving to possess the "Pearl of the Antilles."

On his own initiative and without the knowledge of Congress, President Polk had, in 1848, instructed the American minister in Spain to offer $100,000,000 for Cuba. The offer was curtly and promptly rejected, without thanks. About the same time, Narciso Lopez, living in the island, had turned to the usual recourse of the soldier of fortune and become a revolutionist. President Taylor checkmated his first attempt at invasion, but by May, 1850, having gathered 610 men in New Orleans, under his banner, he slipped away in the steamer Creole. He landed in Cuba, but met with no support and came ingloriously away.

These were the days when undrained Havana, glittering even in her filth, furnished almost an annual epidemic of cholera, or yellow fever, to the United States, which repaid the island with piratical expeditions in the interests of slavery extension.

President Fillmore's proclamation against another attempt of the same sort made by Lopez, in the steamer Pampero, is dated April 25th, 1851. Sending two men-of-war to the Cuban coast to intercept the invaders, he issued new powers to the collectors and marshals at all the Atlantic and Gulf ports, enjoining vigilance also upon the district attorneys at these places. All United States officers absent from home were ordered to return and prevent expeditions from being fitted out. Orders were given to the Army and Navy, wherever there were troops or vessels, to be ready for service.

From May 13th to 21st, the President and his Cabinet were in New York State attending the formal opening of the Erie Railroad, which connected the great lakes with the ocean.

Lopez had collected in Louisiana about six hundred men and boys, many of them of good family, promising each one of them five thousand dollars apiece. This sum was to be paid when the Cuban plantations had been seized and the financial basis found for the "bonds of the Cuban Republic." Costing from three to twenty cents on a dollar, these products of the printing press appealed to the speculative instinct, and many Americans invested in the promised castles in New Spain. Cubans in the United States led the ignorant and necessitous to enlist, but they themselves kept at home. Those who sent the ships and printed the bonds hoped that their copper mite would come back into their pockets as gold unalloyed.

The command of this expedition was offered first to Jefferson Davis and then to Capt. Robert E. Lee, U. S. A.

Declined by both, it was given by designing politicans and professional war-makers to Lopez, who had already sunk all his means in two previous attempts. New Orleans was full of adventurers to choose from and the complement was easily made up. Most of those who enlisted were boys. The ship would hold no more. Crittenden, the commander, next to Lopez, was a graduate of West Point, who had resigned his colonelcy in the army to lead this motley band, which sailed in the steamer Pampero, August 3, 1851.

Four thousand Spanish troops garrisoned Cuba. These watchdogs of war had teeth to bite with. It would be no child's play to face their fire.

President Fillmore had planned to get a few days of summer rest at the White Sulphur Springs, in Virginia, hoping to return to Washington on August 30th. The Lopez expedition broke up his plans, and he returned in haste to his desk. The cabinet was scattered, but he ordered the war-ship Saranac to Havana, to inquire into the facts, removed the federal officer at New Orleans, and wrote, both confidentially and officially, to the Secretary of State, then at his home in Marshfield, Mass. The gist of the President's directions was—" Follow Washington's example, as in the case of France." Not having yet heard as to the whereabouts of the Pampero, he left for the north and spent six days, from September 16th to 22nd in New England, with two members of his cabinet, Conrad and Stuart.

The story of the filibusters of 1851 is a short one, for their race was quickly run. Lopez landed fifty miles southwest of Havana, August 12th, and went forward with 325 men to Las Pasas. Colonel Crittenden, with 150 men, was left to guard the baggage. Met by a Spanish detachment of from five to eight hundred soldiers, Lopez and his forces were scattered. Having fled to the mountains, he was taken and met his death bravely.

Crittenden and his force were also captured. Of these, fifty were ordered to execution and one hundred and sixty two were sent to Spain to forced labor in the mines. The fifty Americans with Lopez' following condemned to be shot, were given time and facilities to write farewells to friends at home. This opportunity they improved diligently.

When the vessel bearing this mail reached New Orleans, a rumor flew round the city that the letters had been detained at the Spanish consulate. A mob collected. stormed the building, smashed the furniture and tore into strips both the Spanish flag and portraits of Spain's sovereign, thus adding one more blot to America's fame as a land of law.

Don A. Calderon de la Barca, the Spanish envoy, made complaint, to the United States Government, of the insult to his country and asked for reparation. In a private letter to Mr. Webster, he hoped that some public act of honor could be done to the flag of Spain. The draft of Mr. Webster's reply was not made ready until November 4th, and official answer was delayed until November 13th. It was a noble document, conciliatory and frank. In it a distinction was made between what was governmental and what personal. The Spanish flag would be saluted with honor and apology and regrets be tendered to the Spanish Government; but for individual loss or damage, redress must be sought according to the usual procedure in the courts. A handsome appropriation, to renumerate the Spanish consul and his nationals, was promptly made by Congress, and every promise, in the powder, ink, and money of our government, was fulfilled.

Anxious about the condition of the misguided lads of the Lopez expedition, now at hard labor in the mines of Spain, Mr. Fillmore on November 26th, 1851, dictated a letter to Mr. Barringer, our minister, asking the Government of

Madrid for the return of these expatriated Americans. He offered meanwhile, in case of their need of suffering, to furnish food, clothing, or help.

This wise and tactful letter was well received at Madrid and word was soon received at the State Department that release had been made. Ninety of the boys, who had followed Lopez and had found other structures than castles, in Spain, were "repatriated", landing in New York in February, 1852. Others were returned later.

One good turn deserves another. This precedent was fertile in later results. In 1898, Cervera and his sailors, with the Spanish troops taken by our army and navy, were "repatriated" by President McKinley, who, in so many of his finer qualities, was like Fillmore. Yet some of our countrymen, as ignorant as conceited, gave out this as an original American idea first put into practice in 1898.

Thus the thirteenth President nobly saved the Monroe Doctrine when it was fast degenerating into filibusterism.

Europe was thrown into excitement by the Lopez raid. The governments of France, Spain, and Great Britain prepared a plan to guarantee Cuba to Spain. They proposed it to the United States in all friendliness, but Mr. Fillmore, whose Americanism was ever sane and balanced, thought this scheme ill advised. "Any attempts, to prevent such expeditions, by British cruisers must necessarily involve a right of search into our whole mercantile marine in those seas, thus endangering the friendly relations. . . . It might take a few years, but in the end, with the encouragement derived from the free institutions of the United States, Cuba would either be free from Spanish rule, or annexed to the United States".

For a decade or more, the determination of slave holders to extend their domain, whether in Cuba, Mexico, or other warm lands, or islands continued. Cool-headed Americans wanted "no more ebony additions to the republic" and

looked askance upon those "evanescent republics" which filibusters from the United States, from time to time, attempted to set up. The political atmosphere was then overcharged with "Manifest Destiny" and out of it, other flashes like lightning issued to startle the world.

In 1850 there was a Lone Star Association, and the policy of a party, avowed in the "manifest destiny" idea, was to seize all of Mexico and the Spanish American countries, in order to extend slavery. American imitators of Pizarro and Cortez were ready to "do God's will" as they interpreted it.

Two American clipper ships, the Gamecock and the Witch of the Wave, at San Francisco, sailed with 300 volunteers on board, in October, to seize, as was supposed, the Sandwich Islands.

The most famous of the filibustering expeditions was organized secretly during the last days of Fillmore's administration, in California, which was then remote and beyond the speedy action from Washington. William Walker, ex-lawyer and journalist, of Louisiana, desired to found an independent state, wherein slavery of the blacks would be unrestricted, and the "God-given rights of the white man" denied to none possessing the orthodox hue of cuticle. He made Mexico and Lower California the object of his invasion. With forty-five men, he landed at Cape St. Lucas, at the extreme point of Lower California. Sailing a few miles further, he captured the town of the same name, made the Governor a prisoner and established a "Republic", with himself as President. He proclaimed the people free of the tyranny of Mexico. Whether they liked it or not, the natives were compelled to be "independent" and "republican".

Three hundred adventurers from all lands enlisted as "emigrants," and sailing in the bark Anita, from California, reinforced Walker in November, 1852. Finding

their commander to be a boyish-looking man of thirty-one, they became insubordinate and plotted against him. After trying a few ring-leaders and shooting them, Walker, with fewer than one hundred followers, marched up the peninsula, in order to Reach Sonora. The Mexicans, now roused to wrath, pursued, ambuscaded, shot, lassoed, and tortured the invaders of their soil, until Walker had but thirty-five men left. At bay, on the border, they turned upon the Mexican troops, fired a murderous volley and then, staggering across the boundary line, surrendered to the United States soldiers.

Years afterwards, prowling Indians or peon herdsmen, in the mountain paths, stumbled over bleaching skeletons marked by no cross or cairn. In each case a rusty Colt's revolver, beside the bones, bespoke the country and the occupation of the invader.

Walker was tried at San Francisco and acquitted. He immediately began to fulfil his "mission" elsewhere. Of his enterprises in Nicaraugua and in Honduras, where he was shot as a criminal, it is not our province to write. In history, Doubleday and Roche, and in fiction, Davis, have told the story of the bold fanatics. The novelist is especially clever in showing how revolutions in Central and South America are often engineered by capitalists, usually citizens of the United States, in order to fill their own purses. The war-makers, in the Land of the Almighty Dollar, have the same object in view as those in haste to get rich in all times and on all continents. If not England or Germany, Japan must serve as the occasion and means of making money, by embroiling our Government in war.

Walker might have "solved the problem of slavery, have established an empire in Mexico and in Central America and, incidentally, brought us into war with all of Europe," but like so many old world notions, tried on the soil of the new world, such devil-work was fore-doomed to failure.

The attempts of Americans to perpetuate the trade of the conquestadors, such as Spain had sent out in the sixteenth century—as in every similar enterprise of forcing monarchy upon the unwilling peoples of the western world—were sure to miscarry. Whatever be the pretext—"God's will," "the divine institution," of slavery, "manifest destiny," "Anglo-Saxon ideas" or other subterfuge—these outrages upon humanity do but mask human cupidity. If American history teaches anything, it is that our continent is no place in which to revamp the wornout and rejected ideas of Europe, even when they are conjured up under other names.

Our young republic is no Abishag to keep moribund kings alive. If, in the experience of humanity, civilization has cast aside certain methods of barbarism, much more will the advancing race in America demand loyal adherence to proved ideals of justice, while it condemns everything that belongs to the lower stages of evolution. History refuses to repeat herself. In the right interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, "with charity for all and malice to none," there are now no Republicans or Democrats, but only one great united American People. Gratitude to Millard Fillmore is our just and joyous debt. It is for the American people to see that neither foreign juntas on our soil, nor hot-headed patriots or aliens, nor money-makers anxious for war-contracts, shall ever degrade this noble doctrine to sordid ends and satanic purposes.

CHAPTER XVIII

National Honor. The Canal and the Treaties.

The relations between the United States and Great Britain, very severely strained during three of the administrations preceding, were, during Mr. Fillmore's term of office, sympathetic and friendly.

Sir Henry Bulwer, the British Minister, author, and older brother of the famous novelist, Bulwer-Lytton, came to Washington in November, 1850. He had "impressions", which he wrote out. Webster was then 68; Clay 73; Everett 56. These men around Fillmore, all born in the eighteenth century, had touched a former world and remembered it. In contrast, "Fillmore, at fifty-one, was the youngest president thus far in office." Webster had "eyes set in caverns". Everett was a prig and a rather solemn American. In a hall, crowded with more or less rowdyish persons, Bulwer saw the audience in sobs, as Webster spoke of the Pilgrims' landing at Plymouth in 1620.

Of the state political opinion and of general culture, this Englishman wrote: "All tremendous Tories in the South, and the general mind there what it might have been under the Georges". The United States were interesting—"railway trains smashing, steamboats blowing up, banks breaking", yet the go-ahead Yankeeism has achieved in a few years a position not very inferior to that which we have been for centuries acquiring. . . . The women are the oligarchy of this country. . . . The cleverest fellow is only 'the husband of the charming Mrs. So and So'".

The real bone of contention between Great Britain and the United States was Nicaragua. This, a narrow land between oceans, promised to furnish the prize for which the centuries waited—a short route to the Orient.

Rich in gold, mosquitoes, mongrel humanity and varied natural resources, somewhat larger than Ohio, Nicaragua touched both oceans. Columbus looked at one of its points, but Davila, in 1522, sailing in quest of the Spice Islands, found an Indian chief named Nicaragua, who was quickly "converted", with 9,017 of his followers to "Christianity". All these hopeful proselytes were "baptized" in one day! Even thus early, Davila learned that, with lake and river, there was an easy way from sea to sea. The tradition of the Nicaraguan ship canal, about which whole libraries of description, diplomacy and engineering have been written, and in the prospecting and surveying of which, fortunes have been sunk, was thus, in 1522, established. After three centuries of Spanish rule, there was in 1822 a revolution, which issued in independence.

At this time, Great Britain's "sphere of influence" took in Nicaragua, and the people of Balize, or British Honduras, "crowned" the "king" or chief of the Mosquito Indians, who in due time claimed the land on both sides of the river San Juan del Norte, which would be part of the canal. Seizing this place at the river's mouth, the British in 1847 called it Greytown and in a treaty with Nicaragua, this occupation was recognized.

American "Manifest Destiny" and British jingoism being both in the air at this time, and Polk and Palmerston being twins in mental make-up, there was likely to be a collision.

It looked to us Americans as if the British action was a blow struck purposely at the Monroe Doctrine. It was interpreted as the gauntlet flung down in challenge of the American control of the canal. Eager to flaunt the starry flag before the British lion, Mr. E. D. Squires, our agent drew up a treaty with Nicaragua, guaranteering its sovereignty against the Mosquito "King", who was the Briton's stalking-horse, for which, in return, the United States was

to fortify the mouth of the proposed canal. Such a treaty, carried out in details, meant instant war with Great Britain and possibly other European Powers. The British and American seizures, in Central America and in California, took place at about the same time. Both nations, suspicious of each other's purposes, were angrily awaiting the next move.

Though President Taylor's course was conciliatory, mutual distrust made the question a hot one, even while negotiations went on. Two war-ships with soldiers were sent by Great Britain to occupy an island near the expected terminal. To block the British scheme, our envoy E. D. Squires, obtained a temporary cession of Tigre Island. Thereupon, the British naval forces seized this bit of real estate "for debt."

At once popular indignation in the United States rose to white heat. The Secretary of State, John M. Clayton, fearing that his diplomatic hand would be forced, pushed forward the Anglo-American treaty, which was signed April 19th, 1851, and ratified in the Senate, by a vote of 42 to 11.

Does it ever pay to suppress the truth, or to lie?

In this treaty, the points at issue were not clearly defined. Lord Palmerston wrote to Bulwer, declaring that Great Britain would interpret the treaty as not applying to Honduras "or its dependencies" (which included Mosquitia, then ruled by "His Mosquito Majesty"). Clayton supposing that this phrase of three words referred only to the islands. Confident in his own statesmanship, which was intended to satisfy both governments, be made concealment of Palmerston's express declaration. The treaty was therefore accepted and ratifications were exchanged, five days before President Taylor died. As afterwards clearly revealed, the United States had pledged themselves not to occupy any position in Central America, while on the other

hand Great Britain retained control of the entire eastern coast of Nicaraugua! Here was a first class diplomatic victory for Great Britain! Verily "honesty is the best policy", Concealment of the truth is ever dangerous.

The Fillmore administration entered upon this inheritance of menace and danger and the grave reality was soon made plain. Neither Power was satisfied and neither would yield the point at issue. The British bull dog held on. Greytown was re-occupied and the Mosquito protectorate again proclaimed. The Monroe Doctrine received a fresh blow and a door was opened for more trouble.

In November 1851, the American ship Prometheus, loaded with tools and supplies for the men working on the Tehuhuantepec Canal, refusing to pay dues at Greytown, was pursued and fired on by the British man-of-war Express. When the news reached Washington, the Senate at once ordered President Fillmore to demand redress from Great Britain. Lord Palmerston, bluff lover of fair play, at once disallowed the act of Her Majesty's man-of-war, but the real root of bitterness still existed.

Meanwhile, English capitalists started to build a ship railway across the Isthmus, and in August, 1852, the British forces reoccupied the Bay Islands, on the northern end of Nicaragua, formerly part of Balize. At once the flames of jealousy were rekindled in the United States.

Clayton had shirked the point at issue and the result was a host of troubles. Nearly fifty years of disturbance and irritation followed, nearly wrecking cabinets and administrations. Not until the twentieth century was the burning question quenched. Then, the Americans, in 1904, acquired virtual control of the Isthmus of Panama. Nicaragua was henceforth left like an old post road after the introduction of railways—until a fresh outburst of chronic troubles in 1909. It will probably yet have an interoceanic canal.

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty was intended as a bar to monopoly. It is easy, now, to stigmatize it as "the most serious diplomatic mistake in our history". Such a judgment smacks of "wisdom after the event". At that time, designed to bar either nation from monopoly, the treaty was a most honorable withdrawal, by both parties, from positions calculated to generate war. The canal was to be for all nations. In 1852, the Americans were more anxious about British "encroachments" than for the ownership of of a canal. Our government "desired the compact as a bulwark against British greed". During the fifty-one years of the life of the treaty, this was the American attitude, for more than half the time.

Later the Americans, changing their tune, wished to abrogate and even threatened to denounce the treaty. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty, ratified December 16th, 1901, settled the matter for a second time. In 1904, the cession of the Panama Canal Zone set aside the whole Nicaraguan question. It is to be noted that in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, both Powers agreed not to erect or maintain any fortification at the canal or in the vicinity thereof.

During all this later time of changed opinion, when the treaty was howled against and men looked for a scape-goat the odium was laid on Millard Fillmore. It was even dug up and used a generation after his death, as an argument against rearing a posthumous statue in his honor at Buffalo. Did Clayton commit treason? Was not Millard Fillmore's part most honorable?

Mr. Fillmore all his life upheld vigorously the idea of reciprocity with Great Britain, and in his final message he discussed this vital theme. In the matter of the Lobos Islands, lying westward of the coast of Peru, he was one in sympathy and action with Queen Victoria's government. Both British and American adventurers were removing at will the valuable guano deposits and vociferously demanded

the protection of war vessels. Lord Palmerston, believing that Peru had a just claim on the islands as part of her own territory, denied the request. Mr. Webster, poorly informed, gave encouragement to American commercial filibusters to remove the deposits.

The Peruvian minister protested. Mr. Fillmore read from the British Blue Book the facts, as given in the correspondence from 1832 to 1852, and through his secretary of state, made amends for the wrong done to Peru. In a noble editorial, which was widely copied in America, the London Times made handsome acknowledgement of the President's statesmanship.

In the light of their attitude in relation to treaties with Asians and Europeans, and on the oceanic canal question, it is in 1914 an open question, whether the ethical sense or the practical political morality of the American people has improved since 1851. They have violated one treaty with China, to suit "the Pacific coast"; and, to please Manhattan Hebrews chiefly, denounced their sacred obligations with Russia. After making a solemn compact with Great Britain, it is now to be seen whether we are to commit national perfidy. The California land laws of 1913 are violations of the spirit of the treaty with Japan. Probably we need ethical reinforcement and a more sensitive national conscience.

This era of diplomacy, 1849–1853—one of the most notable in American history—was also a period of national education and creative experiment, in which our statesmen had to feel their way. Multifarious interests kept the United States Government in active negotiation with the nations of three continents, Europe, Asia and America. Yet except Wheaton's, none of the great works on international law by American authors, a field in which they have won such honerable fame, were then written. Inquiring of Edward Everett, Webster's successor, for a

bibliography of international law, the President received a list of about fifty works, almost all in foreign languages, and an answer, in part, as follows: "There is no department of moral science in which the English language is so poorly supplied with original authors, as the law of nations. It is necessary to resort to translations to make out anything like a complete list." Happily this is not now the case. If Americans could only lead in the practice, as they do in the theory of international law!

President Fillmore was, in a true sense, a pioneer. He was an opportunist in that he steered from headland to headland, by the star of precedent set by Washington, but no one could ever doubt either his stalwart Americanism or his purpose to do right, as God gave him to see the right.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Nominating Convention of 1852.

The Whig party, being one of economics and treasure, rather than of ethics and principle, was one more of policy, than of the highest politics. Its appeal was to the text, rather than to the spirit of the Constitution.

The victory in 1848, which gave the Whigs almost as many representatives in Congress as their opponents, was painfully deceptive. There was no basis of principle in the New York contest, which was really one of those struggles between the National and State party machines, so common in the Empire State, wherein politics respond so promptly to personal manipulation.

The first note of the coming dissolution of parties was sounded by Toombs of Georgia. He insisted on a formal condemnation of Wilmot's Anti-Slavery Proviso. When the caucus refused to consider the resolution, the Toombs faction declined to act further with the party. In the Congress of 1849, the Southern Whigs, held together in all the interests of slavery with the Southern Democrats, being one on the final vote.

Placed between two fires—their Southern associates and their own constituents—the Northern Whigs made only passive resistance, spending most of their time in the lobbies. This conduct drew the lightning of scorn from the implacable Thaddeus Stevens. The Fugitive Slave Law once passed, the Pennsylvanian suggested that the Speaker should send a page into the lobby to inform absent members that they might now return with safety. In the face of events, such a policy could not long endure. It was a house divided against itself.

American political history shows more than one chasm between the politicians and the people. This time, cotton

and conscience, money and principle being at odds, great crevasses opened in the boundary dykes. In New York the "Silver Greys", followers of Fillmore, or "Administration Whigs", found themselves opposed to Seward and his followers. Yet party machinery was still strong and the people had no leaders to formulate and incarnate their hopes. The volcano crust hardened for a while. During the first twenty months of Fillmore's administration, there was much murmuring but no open revolt. The deeps were dumb.

The Southern Whigs issued an ultimatum, which meant the party's division, or its defeat. The recognition of the compromise of 1850 was to be accepted as a finality. Introduced into the caucus, it had been evaded or ignored, but at the Baltimore nominating Convention of June, 1852, it took ominous form. The eighth and final plank of the platform read, (resolved) "That the series of acts in the thirty-second Congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement *in principle and substance* [underscored at the suggestion of Webster and Choate] of the dangers and exciting questions which they embraced . . . . . and we will maintain the system as essential to the nationality of the party and the integrity of the Union."

After this, the popular verdict that the "Whig party died of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law", does not seem an unreasonable one.

It is wholesome discipline for an American to study the opinions, about our methods of government and of party machinery, as held in England, "the mother of Parliaments". The tone of the London Times editorials and comment, in view of the Baltimore Convention, was sympathetic and fine. "The eighteenth century saw the colonies lost to Great Britain, but now behold the United

States ! . . . . . What actually exists is only the beginnings of a grandeur which seems destined to surpass all the precedents and the various conceptions of the Old World." Up to 1850, it could be said that the Pope and the President of the United States were the two principal elective rulers of mankind.

Yet since that date (1852) how great has been the growth of Democracy, the spread of American ideas, the founding of republics, and the multiplication of written constitutions, not only in Europe but even in Asia—Japan leading the nations of the oldest continent, and China joining in humanity's procession !

As matter of fact, Mr. Fillmore seems to have given himself little concern as to his future political career. On June 16, 1852, he wrote a letter withdrawing his name from the nominating convention in Baltimore. It was not however read in the convention.

The following letters, no doubt hastily penned, are in the Buffalo collection of "Letters Received" :

Daniel Webster to Millard Fillmore.

"Private.

My dear Sir:—I have sent a communication to Baltimore this morning to have an end put to the pending controversy. I think it most probable that you will be nominated before 10 o'clock. But this is my opinion merely.

Yours,

D. W."

Inside the envelope containing the above note, is the answer from Millard Fillmore to Daniel Webster.

Washington, June 24th.

"*My dear Sir:*—I have your note saying that you had sent a communication to Baltimore, to have an end put to the pending controversy.

I had intimated to my friends, who left last evening and this morning, a strong desire to have my name withdrawn,

which I presume will be done, unless the knowledge of your communication shall prevent it. I therefore wish to know whether your friends will make known your communication to mine before the balloting commences this morning. If not, I apprehend it may be too late to effect anything.

Yours,

HON. D. WEBSTER. MILLARD FILLMORE.

9:30 A. M.

As ~~for~~ the time for nominations drew near, Mr. Webster expressed in exact terms the philosophy of the history of the Whig party. For over thirty years it had had a noble record. It started on the downward trend, when the flag of "availability", as in the case of Harrison, was reared. Instead of trained statesmen, political nonentities were nominated for the presidency. In 1849, nothing was known as to Taylor's political abilities, and little of the man, except that he was the hero of Buena Vista. "They happened to nominate an able man for the vice-presidency, who succeeded to the Government after a year" . . . . "I think", said he, "that Mr. Fillmore has given us as fair and impartial and able administration as the Government has had for many years."

Later on, he declared that he was "nauseated at another dose of availability" in the nomination of General Scott. He predicted his sure defeat, not allowing him the electoral vote of as many as six states. (As matter of fact, Scott gained only four.) Even if chosen, he would be a mere tool in the hands of the New York Whig regency, headed by the gentleman from Auburn. In fact, the real president of the United States would be William H. Seward, and not Winfield Scott. He prophesied that the party would cease to exist after November 4, 1852.

On his death bed, Henry Clay said to the delegates to Baltimore,—"Fillmore, by all means."

To this convention, the Southern men had come to uphold Mr. Fillmore and the compromise measures, but many from the North had no such desire and did not even want a platform or declaration of principles, while the delegation from the South insisted upon one. Finally the bargain was struck and the "deal" made in a manifesto, the pith of which was that the compromise measures formed "a settlement, in principle and substance, of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace." Yet against this platform, which they openly derided, seventy northern delegates voted.

In the Convention of 1852, three candidates were presented. On the first ballot, Fillmore had 133 votes, Scott 131, and Webster 29. On the second ballot, the votes for Fillmore and Scott were reversed. From this point there was little change, until on the 53rd ballot, Scott was nominated by a vote of 159, to 112 for Fillmore and 21 for Webster. On the second ballot for the vice-presidency, Graham was nominated.

CHAPTER XX.

The Era of Prosperity : 1849-1853.

Millard Fillmore's hand was placed on the helm of the Ship of State in a time of storm and danger. The United States, having nearly doubled its area by the accession of the territory west of the Mississippi, novel experiences had to be entered upon and colossal responsibilities faced, even while the Union was confronted with the slavery question, at its most heated stage. However he attempted to solve this double task, he must meet obloquy, for both North and South were diligently searching for a scapegoat and loudly demanded a victim.

It was an era of mad ambitions and huckstering politics, of the shameless abuse of patronage, of the calling of vile names and even of armed collision in legislative halls. In economics, a new era had begun. A great wave of emigration set westwardly over the plains, while on the sea fleets were carrying the Argonauts of industry and freedom to the Pacific coast. Simultaneously, a refluent surge of golden treasure moved to the East, creating an era of prosperity unknown before in American history.

President Fillmore had, first of all, to face a hostile majority in Congress. His own Americanism was according to noble ideals, his foresight commendable and his recommendations of highest value. Yet these latter were for the most part ignored. Yet his was statesmanship of the highest order. He was President of the whole and all of the United States. The nation had been built up by concessions and compromises, and he believed it must be maintained in the same way.

To-day, the practical results of Fillmore's statesmanship are obvious. His administration was marked by a vigorous and fruitful foreign policy, by reduction of inland

postage, the establishment of marine and military hospitals, the initiation of transit between the Mississippi valley and the Pacific ocean, the general use of the telegraph, assertion of the non-intervention principle, reform of the land laws, beneficent naval activities, enlargement of the capitol, and the introduction of water and the increase of comforts and adornments in the city of Washington. In all these measures, Mr. Fillmore's interest was direct and personal. He led the way in urgency of the measures which led to the formation of the Agricultural Bureau, now a department of the Government and represented in the Cabinet. . The United States could in some things furnish Europe a good example. Six days before Franklin Pierce was inaugurated, Napoleon III. entered Paris as Emperor of the French, and the Empire was proclaimed. France was again robbed of her liberties by an adventurer.

In England, it was hard for the average man to see in what way this proceeding of Louis, quondam London policeman and Frenchman, differed from filibustering, and wherein the acts of Walker the filibuster, were morally inferior to those of Napoleon the Little.

In striking contrast was the quiet and orderly change of administration in the United States—all in accordance with law and precedent and moving almost with automatic precision. The American way called forth the unbounded admiration of the English press. The Times editorial spoke of the inauguration of President Franklin Pierce as a spectacle of sublime majesty, which threw the pageants of Kings into the shade.

"The march of events in each succeeding year convinces us more and more that there is no occurrence beyond the limits of the British Empire, and out of our control, which exercises so great and important an influence on our welfare as the character and quality of the American Government." We criticize American institutions as freely as

we do our own, but are conscious that these institutions "are but the trans-Atlantic growth of our liberties, our laws, and our language, sprung from one root and bred by one people."

Mr. Fillmore was kept busy at signing documents until midnight of March 3rd, 1853. In the morning, the air was chilly and the sky cloudy, foretokening weather that would discourage show and mean much discomfort to outdoor spectators. Both of the chief servants were brothers in grief, for Mr. Pierce was to enter on public station, and Mr. Fillmore to leave it in great private sorrow. Even while on his way to Washington, the son of the president-elect met his death in a railway accident. Riding from the Executive Mansion, in company with his predecessor, Mr. Pierce stood erect in the carriage, bowing to all, while Mr. Fillmore sat, enjoying the scene. At the western end of the Capitol, the chief men alighted and after gathering in the Senate Chamber, the procession moved through the rotunda, past the historic pictures to the eastern portico.

In front of the eastern porch of the Capitol, an enormous crowd had gathered, many people having slept on the steps the night before. During the ceremony a heavy fall of snow took place.

Private sorrows did indeed seem to centre around the inaugural event of March 4th, 1853. Quickly following the death of President Pierce's son, was the decease of Mrs. Fillmore, in Washington, and, on the same day, of Mrs. Lewis Cass in Detroit. In token of sympathy the Government offices in Washington were closed, the Senate suspended session, the Cabinet adjourned, and the flags, bearing the thirty-one stars, hung at half-mast. Vice-President King died at his home in Alabama, April 18th.

Mrs. Fillmore took cold while standing in the wintry weather during the whole of the inaugural exercises on

the chilling stone of the Capital porch. After a few week's illness, she died in Willard's Hotel, March 30th.

It is no exaggeration to say in a survey of the life thus ended, of this devoted wife, mother, friend and gracious lady of the White House—one of a noble succession—that she, Abigail Powers, was doubly well named, and grandly worthy of the significance of the cognomen, Abigail, which was also her mother's name. Like the tactful heroine of Scripture, who became the helpmeet of Israel's king, Miss Powers' name was given in unconscious prophecy, since she became the wife of a nation's leader. Whether on the frontier, amid log cabins, in the city, at the State or the Nation's center, she exemplified in her radiant influence the Japanese proverb, "Where you live—that's the capital." Her reading and self-culture were never intermitted. She ever lived up to her opportunities. After having been already twice a mother, besides becoming an accomplished musician, she learned the French language, so as to enjoy its rich literature. From the first day of their marriage until she laid down the burdens of life, Millard Fillmore never took an important step without consulting her. Of her, as a wife, it was long before written: "The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her. . . . . She will do him good and not evil, all the days of her life."

Millard Fillmore was the chief servant of twenty-four millions of people, during an age of national expansion, of naval activity of a double westward emigration—by land and sea—and of an immigration unparalled in history. Never before, in so short a time, did Europe pour so many of her surplus myriads upon our shores. Never did the Atlantic States give to the new West such multitudes of their children.

Apart from humanitarian considerations, the African in the land was considered an asset. Slavery had to spread

westward or die. Economic forces compelled this alternative. Herein lay the core of the whole controversy concerning the territories. The conflict was not one of opinion only, nor was the negro merely a lay figure. In the battle of economics, ethical principles were indeed involved; yet, since the matter touched men's pockets, they became ultra strenuous in politics. The "Institution" of slavery provoked vital questions of wealth or poverty, of sterilizing the soil or of maintaining its fertility, of keeping alive in the world a belated form of feudalism, or of promoting the freedom of man.

Two parallel and westward-moving forms of civilization were in rivalry. They were based respectively on free and on slave labor. The force was not static but dynamic, for there were continual accessions of strength, as new states were formed. Human bondage, by its economic folly alone, was as foredoomed as had been the two feudalisms of the New World, French and Dutch, of patroons and seignors. Not all the pulpits and wrested scriptures could keep back the hostile forces that smote slavery. When ethics joined economics, the "institution" reeled in the crash of war.

From 1848 to 1852, our national prosperity was phenomenal. California gold and the products of the soil augmented other resources, for our ships and flag were then on every sea and the home market was immense. New inventions conserved or created wealth. On the Mississippi river alone—the largest single trade route in the country—commerce, now aided by steam, amounted to two hundred millions of dollars. Except from California, the news of all the states could be read at the breakfast-table. Moses Farmer, Joseph Henry, Samuel F. B. Morse and Ezra Cornell had done the telegraph work, which, when correlated, turned sparks into letters and thrills into words.

Tidings from the Pacific Coast came by pony express, whenever the nimble riders were able to dodge Indian arrows and bullets. The Panama railway had been completed. Large numbers of ex-presidents, of impromptu and defunct South and Central American republics, with their families, reared between revolutions, visited the United States to put their children to school. Some of us, as their playmates, well remember them and their seniors.

The quest after unseen and imponderable forces was no less assiduous. Great gatherings of "Shakers, ranters, jokers, and barkers" professed to act in the name of the invisible intelligences. The phenomena, on which mental healing and spiritualism depend, are as old as the human consciousness. The student of man and mind in other lands—in Japan, for example—sees nothing new in American manifestations of nervous or psychic force, or in the latest dogmas of professed healers. All countries have them. In our later days, spiritism, in its varied doctrinal evolutions and forms of expression, has been mightily reinforced from its original home in Asia. Its confusing vocabulary, its crystal-gazing, and its scraps of Buddhism still win devotees, yet it has not yet brought to the ordinary man, voyaging on the sea of life, "the image of a homeward sail."

Few of those who followed the gleam of a grand idea, or pursued to fruition a real purpose to elevate mankind, seemed able, when at the full tide of success, to show that balance of mind and sanity of self-control which are the marked characteristics of great men. Perhaps none illustrated this truth more signally than the Mormon leader, Brigham Young, for whose lapse into lawlessness, Millard Fillmore was held responsible. One has but to look at the facts to see the absurdity of the charge.

Except the Fugitive Slave Law, no act of the thirteenth president was more harshly criticized than his appointment of Brigham Young as Governor of Utah. Yet when the Act making Utah a territory was passed in 1850, the Mormons were quiet and orderly. Persecuted and driven away from their property, it was natural that they should feel bitterly toward the Gentiles, and even against the Government in Washington. Following his life-long habit, Mr. Fillmore, considering that conciliation was better than coercion, thought that the Mormons might be won back to loyal allegiance, if their liberty of conscience was respected. Brigham Young, the son of a Vermont farmer and educated in a Baptist church, had not joined the Mormons, until 1832. In a word, Mr. Fillmore as usual followed the best American traditions. Not until near the close of his administration, was it known that polygamy was to be the law of the Mormon church, while the complicity of the Mormons with the Mountain Meadow massacre in 1857, was not known until 1874, the year of Mr. Fillmore's death.

The beauty of the national capital and the enlargement of the capitol owe much to President Fillmore. In Congress, as Chairman of affairs relating to the District of Columbia, he was earnest and active in having the city developed according to the original plans of the French engineer, Major l'Enfant. In his third annual message he recommended the introduction of water into the city, then supplied by pumps and wells. He adopted, after careful examination, the plans for the new edifice of the national legislature. Then he so hastened the work that the cornerstone of the extension of the present capitol was laid, by his own hands, July 4th, 1851. Three aged men, who had seen George Washington perform the same office in 1793, when the hamlet on the Potomac contained but five hun-

dred souls, were present. Daniel Webster delivered the oration. When a fire destroyed the most of the Library of Congress, in the winter of 1851, Mr. Fillmore worked with firemen at the engines. In various ways, the President wrought earnestly to make the nation's capital the gem of American cities. At the end of his term of office, the citizens of Washington tendered him a complimentary dinner for having done so much for the City Beautiful.

CHAPTER XXI.

Politics and Immigration.

A recurrent feature in American politics, ever since Colonial days, has been the popular opposition to freshly arriving aliens. Pennsylvania first took alarm in the eighteenth century, because of the influx of Germans and again in the nineteenth, when the Irish came in like a flood. From time to time, there have been invasions from Europe in sudden numbers that seemed menancing. The flood from southern Europe in our day had not yet begun.

These outbursts of jealousy, suspicion and alarm, in the American colonies, arose from the instinct of self-preservation, rather than from any activity of the speculative intellect. Race-memory recalled emotions from the forgotton aeons of history, when in the migration of tribes, one supplanted another, or became its conqueror. The same story has been repeated all over the earth. There is a comic side of the matter and one that is as old as the question as to which one is the "troubler of Israel." Peter Stuyvesant regarded the Yankees as interlopers, when he dated his letter from "Hartford in New Netherland." It is even better known how the New Englanders looked down upon the Dutchmen, and how the Indian considered both as intruders.

Nevertheless there was scarcely an anti-alien organization or party, until 1852. Following the failure of the revolutions in Europe and of the potato crop in overcrowded Ireland, the stream of immigrants was phenomenal. In America, Pat took to politics as naturally as a mosquito to the human circulation, and soon waxed fat with office. The Whigs saw that these men, as soon as naturalized, voted with the Democrats and some of the former resorted to secrecy and oaths to combat the evil.

If we except early Masonry in New York, this method was new in American politics. A secret, oath-bound fraternity, modeled on some of those already in existence, in which there were many degrees, was formed. Its real objects, and even the name of the order, were not known until the lower initiates had reached the higher ranks. To all questions, the answer was "I don't know", and hence the popular term, "The Know Nothing Party". Another nickname was "Sam", for the knowing members, in their replies, at least, had "seen Sam". Some say that the true name of the order was "The Sons of '76", or "The Order of the Star Spangled Banner". Ostensibly the motive of this new organization was to curtail both the increasing power and the purpose of the Roman hierarchy in America, which was then openly hostile to our public school system, and to curb the greed and incapacity of unnaturalized citizens for public office. Its motto was "Americans must rule America" and its countersign was given in words ascribed to Washington, "Put none but Americans on duty to-night."

Mr. Fillmore's attitude to and record in the American Party was at least consistent. He had long before grieved over the alien's abuse of the elective franchise, which was the real cause for the revival of native Americanism. No registration laws and no rigid guarding of the ballot box then existed. When he had seen in Europe, not only among the natives, but of foreign-born persons representing the United States abroad, served only to confirm him in his opinions. He was unalterably opposed to dividing the school fund among the sects, or to taxing freemen to support dogma and ritual.

In his view, the American Party was not founded on hostility to foreigners, but to their taking part in politics before becoming imbued with American sentiments.

His motive and purpose was to preserve the purity of

American institutions, especially since he believed, with many of his countrymen, that it was the set and avowed purpose of the adherents of one form of Christianity, then allied with political power, to destroy the American public school system. He had opposed Governor Seward's proposition, in 1840 and 1841, to the legislature of the State of New York, to set apart a portion of its common-school fund for the support of sectarian schools. This anti-American notion was pressed with all the arguments that could be devised in its favor by an artful and ingenious mind.

The foreign residents, holding the balance of power between the two old parties, were conscious of being able to turn the scale as they pleased. They demanded a large share of the important offices, to the exclusion of native born citizens, claiming them as a reward for thronging the caucuses and primary meetings and in hanging about the polls and bullying quiet, native citizens, who went to deposit their votes. In Europe, Mr. Fillmore's convictions were intensified at seeing so many of our diplomatic posts held by men not born in the United States. From first to last, he approved of the Native American's Party's object and formally united with it.

Meeting in Philadelphia, February 22, 1856 the delegates of the Native American (Know Nothing) National Convention adopted a platform which condemned the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and demanded a twenty-one years residence in the United States of all foreigners, before naturalization. One fourth of the delegates, anti-slavery in sentiment, had withdrawn. The majority nominated Millard Fillmore and Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee as their candidates. Mr. Fillmore wrote his letter of acceptance from Europe.

There was another and external, but potent reason for the formation of this new party. After the Whigs had

reached their Waterloo, in the defeat of Scott and Graham, untried men sought to build up a new political structure on the ruins of the old organization, by utilizing the deep-seated feeling among the Whigs against the foreign vote. This promised a possible escape from the slavery question. Hence the remnants of the Whig party, meeting at Baltimore September 12, 1856, endorsed the American nomination of Fillmore and Donelson, without approving the platform of the Know Nothings. The northern Whigs, for the most part, entered the fold of the new Republican party, while not a few leaders went over to the Democrats. In administering on the estate of the defunct Whig party, the majority of Republicans held to its economic doctrines.

By its enemies, Know-Nothingism, popularly so called, was denounced as "a well-timed scheme to divide the people of the free states upon trifles and side issues, whilst the South remained a unit in defence of its great interest." It seemed then to be a cunning attempt to balk and divert the indignation aroused by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. At the time when Protestant jealousy was being excited, the South pushed its schemes of enlarging the area of human bondage.

The refusal of the candidates of the American Party, to discuss the flaming question of freedom and slavery, drew forth a storm of obloquy, while the inherent sense of humor possessed by the Yankee found colossal expression.

The results of the election were foreseen by practical politicians. The conflict of 1856 narrowed itself down to one between the Democrats and Republicans. Of the popular vote, Mr. Fillmore received 21.57%, Fremont 33.09%, and Buchanan 45.34%; for Mr. Fillmore, 874,534 votes, for Mr. Fremont 1,342,264, and for Mr. Buchanan 1,838,169.

Though some give the Whig party a nominal history from 1828 to 1852, its real activity covers the four years

between 1842 and 1846, and its only genuine party action was its nomination of Clay, in 1844. "During all the rest of its history, the party was trading on borrowed capital and its creditors held mortgages on all its conventions, which they were always prompt to foreclose."

The Whig party, now dead forever, had done its work. It had had its own office to perform. "In its members, rather than its leaders, was preserved most of the nationalizing spirit of the United States." In a word, while the people of the various states were not yet ready for true nationality, the preparatory work in behalf of the final consummation was crudely but effectively done for the making of the United States of our day. The exact situation is best reflected in the American literature of the period. There were histories of the states, but no complete history of the United States until one was written by a woman, Mrs. Emma Willard, a practical teacher at Troy, N. Y., in 1828.

Knownothingism, as described by critics and opponents, with its "riotous career," was a sudden tornado of opinion, like that of anti-Masonry, blowing from an independent quarter across the field of the regular parties and for a little while confusing their lines. When civil war was impending in 1860, it was as the flicker of a dying flame, that under the name of the Constitutional Union Party, some ex-members of the old Whig party, in the border states, nominated John Bell and Edward Everett for President and Vice President. The last trace of the old Whig party was utterly lost in the storm of war which burst on the country in 1861.

CHAPTER XXII.

The First Citizen of Buffalo.

After his overwhelming defeat, in the election of 1856, which he took very philosophically, Mr. Fillmore reconstructed his home and settled down to be a model ex-president.

For a generation he was "the first citizen of Buffalo", though from the beginning of his manhood he had been foremost among the lovers of "the Lake City."

During his legal practice and his Congressional career, his home was on Franklin street. The house, a two-storied white building, had a row of trees in front. Lake Erie was but a short distance away. "It was the home of industry and temperance, with plain diet; no tobacco, no swearing."

Before entering a new house, he made first a home by a second marriage. On March 10th, 1858, in Albany, the Rev. Dr. Hague officiating, in the same room in the Schuyler mansion in which Alexander Hamilton made Elizabeth Schuyler his bride, Mr. Fillmore was married to Mrs. Caroline McIntosh, widow of Ezekiel C. McIntosh, one of the prominent men of business in Albany and a man of high personal worth.

The house in Buffalo, which the ex-president purchased was on ground which first belonged to the Holland Land Company. In 1853, John Hollister found a white building standing on this site, the Delaware Avenue side being ornamented with a row of tall poplars. Here, on a slight eminence, he built his home, in the style of the Tudor Gothic. Within, the heavy moldings and ornamentation of Queen Elizabeth's era still remain to attest the taste and wealth of the first occupant. The house fronted Niagara Square and near by, as neighbors, were the Hawleys, Salisburys,

Havens, Burtices, Austins, Babcocks, Seymours, Wilkesons, Sizers, and others. Here Mr. Hollister lived until the financial disasters of 1858 swept away his fortune. Then this dwelling, so spacious and comfortable, with its excellent location, formed the setting for the generous hospitality and elegant leisure of the ex-President. To-day, much altered and merged into the Castle Inn, it faces the McKinley monument in Niagara Square. While living here, Mr. and Mrs. Fillmore worshipped in the Episcopal church.

Hardly was the new couple settled in Buffalo, when the civil war broke out. It was a sectional struggle, economic and moral, between the States. It had been fought long and hard on the floor of Congress, before it was adjourned to the bloody field.

How earnestly Mr. Fillmore strove to avert the impending storm is seen in his letters at this time. He declared himself ready to act as intermediary in the cause of peace, in order to forefend the shedding of blood. The scurrilous editorials in opposition to the project of the Peace Conference, which he was willing to attend, illustrate the difficulties in both the path of pure Christianity and of the Parliament of the World at the Hague.

During the war between the states, Mr. Fillmore was made chairman of the Committee of Public Defense in Buffalo, and was captain of the Union Continentals. He presided over, or took part in the various public meetings to sustain the Government or to encourage the Union soldiers, and in other ways showed his intense interest as a patriot in the issue of the war and the fate of his country. He was a strong Union man, though far from approving all the acts of the Lincoln administration. He was chairman of the Union rally, April 16, 1861, and he initiated subscriptions in aid of the families of volunteers. At the head of his company, he escorted the first troops sent off to the war on May 3rd, 1861. In the Fillmore Papers may

be found many of his speeches and letters during the continuance of the civil war.

Yet because of what some choose to consider his "half hearted attitude", he had occasionally to submit to defamation and insult, some of it of a very vulgar kind. In a time of excitement, "Old Glory" is made to cover a multitude of abominations. Of necessity it shelters "lewd fellows", as well as genuine patriots. The mudslinger and the assassin differ in degree, rather than in kind.

Of the three presidents, whom he entertained in his home, John Quincy Adams, in 1843; Andrew Johnson, in 1866; and Abraham Lincoln, February 16th and 17th, 1861, he met and honored the last in both life and death, paying his memory the last honors. Mr. Lincoln's visit to Buffalo, as the guest of Mr. Fillmore was from February 18th to 20th, 1861. At the Unitarian church, Rev. Dr. Hosmer pastor, the two men who held the same views on slavery worshipped together. Mr. Fillmore's father died March 28, 1863, making life lonelier, for father and son were often seen together looking almost like twin brothers, in venerable and attractive manhood.

The country at peace and the returning Union armies welcomed home, Mr. Fillmore again sought relaxation in travel beyond sea, where already his accomplished and patrician wife had, a dozen years before, enjoyed like him her first view of the old lands of culture and history. Most of the winter of 1866 was spent in Madrid or Paris.

Returning from his second European tour, Mr. Fillmore kept up the same correct habits that had marked his whole life, as shown in his love of outdoors and the use of his legs. Besides his various activities of altruism, such as, for example, reading Shakespeare for the benefit of "the hands" in a shoe factory while they worked, he was the occupant of various "figure-head-positions" where dignity

and character were desired above those who did the humbler and harder work.

In his library, which was well stocked with the silent friends he loved, and rich in all kinds of useful aids to relaxing, he spent much time. He was as methodical in his daily life as when President of the nation. His activity as founder of the Historical Society and zealous patron of other civic, educational and philanthropic institutions in Buffalo was constant and unusual.

One instance of delightful urbanity is recalled by the mother of one of our most brilliant women professors in Wellesley College. She was then the young wife of a minister in Buffalo. Her father had been known as "a bawling abolitionist", who in the awful days of the Fugitive Slave Law, as the President of the Boston and Concord Railway, hated Fillmore and all his works. As a northern girl, she had been taught to believe that Fillmore was "Armageddon & Co., Unlimited", if not the very devil himself. In her evening dress and in his "claw-hammer" coat, they first met on a social occasion. His fatherly interest in her role, of minister's wife and the mother of little children, his eager inquiries and sympathy with her work and his Chesterfieldian manners nearly took her breath away. Instead of horns, hoofs, forked tail, sooty hide, and sulphurous breath, here was a delightful old gentleman. It was a sudden and very pleasant disillusion.

Throughout his life, Mr. Fillmore took a deep interest in the Indians of New York. To the last Great Council of the Six Nations, held at Glen Iris, near Portage, N. Y., in October, 1872, regularly convened by representative Indians, and the Council Fire lighted by one of the Iroquois, Mr. Fillmore went by invitation as an interested spectator. Here were present nineteen painted and plumed sons of the forest, most of them bearing names that are historic in frontier history, besides several women, one of them being

Mrs. Osborn, Brant's beautiful and accomplished daughter. The men were armed and ornamented as in the old days of fame and glory. The grandsons of four chiefs of might and renown, took part in the ceremonies,—Joseph Brant's grandson, Colonel Simcoe Kerr, Chief of the Mohawks; John Jacket, grandson of Red Jacket; a grandson of Cornplanter and a grandson of Mary Jameson; N. H. Parker, brother of E. S. Parker, who was on General U. S. Grant's staff during the Civil War; besides Black Snake, Tall Chief, Shongo, son of the Seneca chief who led the descent upon Wyoming, in 1778, and last, but by no means least, George Jones, son of the sachem Long Horn, who had acted as executioner in a case of witchcraft on Buffalo Creek, May 2nd, 1821. When the orator Red Jacket defended this man in a court of law, he quoted, in defense of the accused, the Salem precedent in Massachusetts, and acquittal was the result. It is not generally considered, yet it is a fact, that both the United States and Great Britain employed as allies more Iroquois in the war of 1812, than during the Revolution of 1776. The gathering at Glen Iris was one of intense interest and highly dramatic in its eloquence and incidents, because of this schism in 1812, which, before the session of this council, had not yet been healed.

The white people were not commingled with the red men, but occupied a separate part of the Council House. The most notable incident of the gathering was the reconciliation between the Mohawks and the Senecas. The former had served Great Britain and the latter the American Republic in the war of 1812. In this gathering, the feud of seventy-five years was healed, with appropriate words, the clasping of hands and other ceremonies and particularly the smoking of the pipe of peace.

After reconciliation and the Council exercises had been completed, the white people who were present organized.

Mr. Fillmore acted as chairman and several brief addresses were made.

In January, 1874, Mr. Fillmore was invited by his old friend, Mr. William O. Corcoran, of Washington, to meet at dinner the surviving members of his former cabinet. By the ex-president's request, this reunion was put off until April. When the appointed time came, however, both the ex-president and his Postmaster-General had joined the majority, being in death divided but by a few days. In February Mr. Fillmore attended his last public meeting and spoke on the Japan Expedition of Commodore Perry, to which he had given executive initiation.

For Millard Fillmore, nature's process of transfer from this life to the next was by a shock of appoplexy. On the first day, Tuesday, February 13, 1874, Mr. Fillmore saw clearly the issue and remarked, "This is the beginning of the end." From the 22nd to the 25th of February, he was up and about the house, but on the 26th he sank steadily. On Sunday evening, March 8th, when given some food, he said, "The nourishment is palatable." These were his last words. At 9 P. M. he was unconscious. At 11.10, his eyes were closed by the attendant physician, Dr. White.

On the 11th of March, brief services of farewell in the home were conducted by the Rev. N. R. Hotchkiss, pastor of the Baptist Church and Rev. Dr. John C. Lord, Presbyterian. Then the body was taken to St. Paul's cathedral to rest in state. The guard of honor around the white, covered casket consisted of eight non-commissioned officers of Company D, of the Buffalo City Guards, who bore the coffin out of the house.

Although March 11, 1874, was a cold raw day, forbidding to pedestrians, throngs of his fellow citizens, who were proud of the man who did so much for Buffalo, apart from his fame as president, came to look once more upon that serene, courtly face and to recall the genial humanity of

the man who began with axe and plough to develop the Empire State.

At 2 P.M. the committees, Congressmen, Governor, Presipent Grant and others entered the edifice. At 2.15, six sergeants of the U. S. Infantry at Fort Porter bore the body into the nave of the cathedral. Then, headed by the Rev. Dr. Shelton, the Episcopal ministers of Buffalo and the pall bearers, eight prominet citizens, followed. Dr. Shelton, a life-long friend of Mr. Fillmore, recounted the chief incidents in the life of the deceased and the main features of his career, poverty, industry, perseverence, purity, independence, and honesty. The music, by a full choir, was appropriate and pleasing. The burial was in Forest Lawn cemetery.

In February, 1861, as we have seen, Abraham Lincoln and Millard Fillmore, guest and host, worshipped God in the Unitarian church in Buffalo. Standing together in the pew, these two men, both forest born, fellow rail splitters, self-educated frontier lawyers, comrades in Congress, Whigs of the old school, both believers in the Fugitive Slave Law, and long convinced that gradual emancipation, with indemnity to the slave owners, was the true method of national policy, of the same height at the shoulders, the one raw-boned and homely in country clothes, the other of polished manners and garbed in finest material, were typical of the glory and the mystery of human life. One passed on to colossal burdens, and through profoundest sorrows, to martyrdom, exhaltation, mythology and apotheosis. The other has had to wait for the slow justice of time. When volcanic passions have cooled, and history's perspective is clear, the radiant moon of duty done will shine above the ashes of the night fires, that once on the hills hid even the mountain peaks.

MILLARD FILLMORE CHRONOLOGY.

The name Fillmore is of English, possibly Norman origin, the family having its seat in Herst, Parish Otterden, in which place James Filmer had his arms confirmed to him in 1570, viz. sable, three bars three cinquefoils in chief, or; died, 1585; and had issue, Sir Edward, of Little Charlton, who purchased East Sutton in Kent.

The first of the name known in this country is John Fillmore, or Phillmore, "mariner" of Ipswich, Mass., who purchased an estate in Beverly, Nov. 24th, 1704. He is believed to be the common ancestor of all the Fillmores in America. He married June 19, 1701, Abigail, daughter of Abraham and Deliverance Tilton, of Ipswich by whom he had two sons and a daughter. John, the elder son, hero of the "Narrative" and captor of a pirate captain, moved in 1724 to Franklin, Conn., dying in 1777. His son was Nathaniel, born at Bennington, April 19, 1771; his son Millard Fillmore was born at Locke, now Summer Hill, Cayuga County, N. Y.

1800. January 7. On the farm at Locke and Sempronius until 14.

1814. Hundred-mile walk to Sparta, N. Y.

1815. Apprenticeship at wool carding and cloth dressing.

1818. Teaching school at Scott, N. Y. Walk to Buffalo and back.

1819–1821. Study of law at Montville and Moravia.

1821. Moved to Aurora (now East Aurora, Erie County) N. Y.

1822. Read law in Buffalo.

1823. Admitted to practice, Court of Common Pleas, in Buffalo.

1823–1830. Practiced law in Aurora.

1826. Feb. 5th. Married to Abigail, daughter of Rev. Lemuel Powers.

1827. Admitted to the bar as attorney of the Supreme Court.

1828. May 22nd. Delegate to the Erie County Convention of National Republicans.

1828. November. Elected to the New York Assembly. Anti-Masonic Candidate.

1829. Admitted as counsellor, New York Supreme Court.

1829. Re-elected to the New York Assembly.

1830. Re-elected to the New York Assembly.

1831. In New York Assembly. Bill for abolition of imprisonment for debt.

1832. Death of his mother, Mrs. Phebe Fillmore.

1832. Law firm of Clary and Fillmore formed.

1832. Active in the Buffalo Young Men's Lyceum.

1832. Elected representative in the Twenty-Third Congress.

1832. Wrote pamphlet advocating abolition of religious tests.

1833. In Washington, in House of Representatives.

1834. Law firm of Fillmore and Hall formed.

1836. Nominated again for Congress.

1837. Burning of the steamer "Caroline".

1838. Representative in Twenty-fifth Congress.

1840. Representative in Twenty-Sixth Congress.

1842. Chairman of Ways and Means Committee. Leader of the House.

1842. March 3rd. Secures appropriation for Morse's Magnetic Telegraph.

1842. June 9th. Famous speech on the Tariff.

1842. Declined nomination for Congress.

1843. The lake steamer Michigan launched.

1844. Candidate for vice-president in the Whig National Convention.

1844. Nominated for Governor of New York. Defeated by Silas Wright.

1846–1874. Chancellor of the University of Buffalo.

1847. Nominated for Comptroller of New York State. Elected.

1848. In office as Comptroller.

1848. June 9th. Nominated for Vice President by the Whig National Convention.

1848. November. Elected Vice President of the United States.

1848. Gold discovered in California.

1849. In his Report foreshadows the National Bank system.

1849. January 1. Resigns office as Comptroller (in effect February 20).

1849. March 4. Inaugurated as Vice President.

1850. April 3. Address on Rules of Order in the Senate.

1850. July 10. Took oath of office as President of the United States.

1850. New Cabinet formed.

1850. Supremacy of the National Government asserted in New Mexico.

1850. California admitted to the Union, September 9.

1850. September 18. Signed the Fugitive Slave Act.

1850. New Mexico organized as a Territory.

1850. Utah made a Territory. Appointment of Brigham Young as Governor.

1851. April 25. Second proclamation against filibustering.

1851. May. Opening of the Erie Railroad.

1851. Laid the corner stone of the Capitol Extension.

1851. August 11. Lopez and filibusters land in Cuba.

1851. September. Tour in New England.

1851. Appoints Judge B. R. Curtis on U. S. Supreme Court Bench.

1851. December 30. Receives Louis Kossuth. Non-intervention policy upheld.

1851. Letter to "Emperor" of Japan written and Perry called to Washington.

1852. June 16-21. Whig National Convention at Baltimore.

1852. Despatch of Commodore M. C. Perry to Japan.

1852. December 6. Suppresses message on emancipation of slaves.

1853. March. Dinner tendered by the citizens of Washington.

1853. March 4. Retired from the Presidency.

1853. March 30. Death of Abigail Powers Fillmore at Washington.

1854. March 1. Tour in the Southern States. At home May 20th.

1854. Tour in the West. May 29 to mid-June.

1854. July 26. Death of only daughter, Mary Fillmore.

1854. Kansas–Nebraska Bill signed (Repeal of the Missouri Compromise) May 30.

1855. May 17. Sailed for Europe.

1855. Precedent fixed for reception of ex-presidents of U. S. in Europe.

1856. Nominated for President by the American Party.

1856. Nominated for President by the Whig Party.

1856. May 21. Letter of Acceptance.

1856. June. Returned from fifteen months travel in Europe.

1856. June 22. Arrival in New York.

1856. June 26. Famous Union speech at Albany.

1856. November. Defeated in the National election.

1858. Feb. 10. Married in Albany to Mrs. Caroline McIntosh.

1858. In his new home on Niagara Square in Buffalo. Generous hospitality.

1859. At Bi-centennial of Norwich, Conn.

1860. Requested to go South as commissioner in interests of Peace.

1861. February. Welcomes and entertains President-elect A. Lincoln.

1861. Speaker at the Union rally and first contributor to funds.

1861. Captain of the Union Continentals.

1861. Escorts Volunteers for the Union army.

1862. Chairman of the Buffalo Committee of Public Defense.

1862. One of the incorporators of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy.

1862. May 20. Elected President of the Buffalo Historical Society, 1862–1867.

1865. April. Escorts body of Mr. Lincoln from Batavia to Buffalo.

1865. Dec. Wrote last will and testament, (2 codicils, 1868 and 1873.)

1866. In Europe again with Mrs. Fillmore.

1867. First President of the Buffalo Club.

1869. October 11. Presides over the Southern Commercial Convention at Louisville, Ky.

1869. Appoints commission to visit Russia for trade and in Europe to attract capital and immigration to the South and West.

1870. President of the Buffalo General Hospital.

1870. Trustee Grosvenor Library (1870–1874).

1872. Entertains the Japanese ambassador, Iwakura.

1872. August. Opening of the Buffalo, New York and Philadelphia Railway.

1873. March 3rd. Address before Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

1873. September 16. "History given in an Interview" (*New York Herald*).

1873. October 1. Last public address. Third International Exhibition, Buffalo.

1874. Address on Perry's Expedition to Japan.

1874. March 8. Died at his home in Buffalo.

1874. March 11. Buried in Forest Lawn Cemetery.

1874. March 11? Memorial address by Hon. James O. Putnam.

1874. Agitation in favor of a public monument to Mr. Fillmore in Buffalo.

1878. Address by Gen. James Grant Wilson on Millard Fillmore, Buffalo.

1881. August 11. Death of Mrs. Caroline C. Fillmore.

1889. November 15. Death of Millard Powers Fillmore.

1899. January 10. "Fillmore Evening" at the Buffalo Historical Society.

1906. Paper on Millard Fillmore and his part in the opening of Japan before Buffalo Historical Society.

1907. Publication of the Millard Fillmore papers.

1908. Recovery of the volumes of "Letters Received".

1915. Publication of "Millard Fillmore, Constructive Statesman and Thirteenth President of the United States."

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